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TEXTUAL CRITICISM

APPLIED TO THE

NEW TESTAMENT

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London

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Clarendon Press Series

OUTLINES
OF
TEXTUAL CRITICISM
APPLIED TO THE
NEW TESTAMENT

BY

C. E. HAMMOND, M.A.

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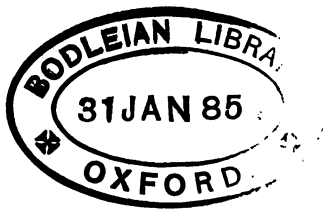
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PREFACE.

IN the first edition of these 'Outlines,' published in 1872, I was obliged to complain that there was no book at that time which served well as a first introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, in the state to which the science had then advanced. There is no ground for such a complaint now. Dr. Scrivener's indispensable 'Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament' has reached a third edition, revised and greatly enlarged. The long-promised edition of the Greek Testament by Drs. Westcott and Hort appeared in 1881, with an Introduction containing a complete and compact system of Textual Criticism, which, whether destined to be accepted *en bloc* or not, must certainly make an epoch in the history of the science. And the First Part of the Prolegomena to the eighth edition of Tischendorf's Greek Testament, compiled by Dr. Caspar R. Gregory, with some help from the late Professor Ezra Abbot, has just appeared. Moreover a great deal of attention has been attracted to this study by the publication of the Revised Version of the English New Testament, which was founded upon a Revision of the Greek Text, so that questions which were once uncared for by, and almost unknown to, the English public have now become comparatively familiar, at least in name. The attack upon and defence of the principles of this Revision have produced quite a literature upon the subject, in which the student will find abundance of *material* to exercise his critical powers upon.

In the present (fourth) edition of this little book I have endeavoured to profit by the new information that has been brought to light since the last: and I have introduced numerous modifications of statement and corrections throughout, which it is impossible to draw attention to in every place. Had I been writing it for the first time, I should probably have taken for some of the illustrations statements borrowed from different writers and more recent than those which I adopted originally. It seemed best, however, on the whole to leave these as they stood; since they serve their purpose of illustration sufficiently well, and it is desirable for several reasons not to increase unnecessarily the difference between this and former editions.

The student who reads the three books mentioned above will have no difficulty in discovering other sources from which he may extend his knowledge of details in any particular direction he may desire.

C. E. HAMMOND.

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DESCRIPTION OF FACSIMILE PLATE.

No. 1. Seven lines from the Codex Sinaiticus, containing S. John xxi. 24, 25, *Και οίδαμεν οτι αληθης εστιν η μαρτυρια αυτου· εστιν δε και αλλα πολλα· α εποιησεν ο ιω· ατινα εαν γραφηται καθ εν· ου.*

No. 2. Two passages from the Codex Vaticanus.

The first two lines, from the first verse of the Epistle to the Ephesians, show how the words *εν εφεσω* were omitted by the first scribe and inserted afterwards in the margin.

The other passage is from S. John xxi. 25; and taken with No. 1 gives an opportunity of comparing the writing of these two great manuscripts.

The accents in both are due to the scribe who inserted the words *εν εφεσω*.

Both **No. 1** and **No. 2** are taken from the Plate in Tischendorf's Transcription of the Codex Vaticanus.

No. 3. This facsimile, which is excellently rendered from the Plate at the end of the Fifth Volume of Tischendorf's *Monumenta Sacra Inedita*, exhibits at once specimens of a Palimpsestian Uncial manuscript of the ninth century, and a Cursive of the thirteenth century. The manuscript is known as Codex Porphyrianus. The lower writing contains Acts iv. 10-15.

The passage in Cursive character is Heb. vii. 17-25.

The abbreviations for *τέλος* and *ἀρχή*, marking the end and beginning of lections, will be observed in the margin of the Palimpsest writing, in the same ink and by the same hand as the text; showing that the book was prepared for ecclesiastical use. The accents and other marks are *prima manu*.

№ 1.
Codex Sinaiticus.

S. Joh. XXI. 24.

ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΔΑΜΕΝ ΟΤΙ
ΑΛΗΘΗΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ Η
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ·
ΕΣΤΙΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΑ,
ΠΟΛΛΑ ΔΕ ΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ
ΟΙΣ ΑΤΙΝΑ ΕΑΝ ΓΡΑ
ΦΗΤΑΙ ΚΑΘΕΝ ΟΥ

№ 2.
Codex Vaticanus

Ephes. I. 2

ΤΟΥΤΟ Δ' ΕΛΘΗΜΑΤΟΣ ΘΟΥ
ΤΟΙΣ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΟΥΣ ΙΝΕ
ΦΕΣΩ

S. Joh. III. 24.

ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΑ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΔΕ ΠΟΙ
ΗΣΕΝ ΟΙΣ ΑΤΙΝΑ ΕΑΝ ΓΡΑ
ΦΗΤΑΙ ΚΑΘΕΝ ΟΥ Δ' ΑΥΤ
ΟΙ ΜΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΚΟΣΜΟΝ ΧΩ
ΡΗΣΕΙΝ ΤΑ ΓΡΑΦΟΜΕΝΑ
ΒΙΒΛΙΑ: ΥΥΥΥ

[illegible]

INTRODUCTION.

COMPARATIVE CRITICISM as applied to the New Testament may be defined as *the science which determines the mutual relations and values of the various authorities from which the original text of the New Testament is to be ascertained*. Its office is to indicate the limits within which the truth is to be found; to select the witnesses most likely to speak the truth; and then, by cross-examining them and comparing their testimony, to determine what is most probably the true text.

It is evidently assumed, when such a description as this is given, that no value is assigned to the commonly received text of the Greek Testament *as such*. Any claim which it may be supposed to have upon our acceptance must be summarily set aside while the case is being tried on its own merits. That the Textus Receptus was derived from MSS. transcribed at a very late date, and that there is a marked difference between the text presented by such MSS. and a text founded upon early authorities, are undisputed facts. To account for this difference, to determine the relation of the later documents to the earlier, and to decide which class of documents probably most nearly represents the actual words of the writers of the New Testament, are among the chief problems which Comparative Criticism has to solve.

Answers directly opposed to each other have been given to these problems. There is one school of critics who discard altogether the mass of recent documents, accepting only the early Uncials, Versions and Fathers, with a few later MSS., which on the whole agree with these. For in-

stance, Dr. Tregelles says (Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament, p. 138), 'The mass of recent documents possess no determining voice in a question as to what we should receive as genuine readings. We are able to take the *few* documents whose evidence is *proved* to be trustworthy, and safely discard from present consideration the eighty-nine ninetieths, or whatever else their numerical proportion may be. . . . I should feel that I did indeed put the text of the New Testament in peril, if I adopted the authority of the mass of MSS., which is *proved* to be at variance with what was read by the Christians of the third century at least.' The italics are Dr. Tregelles' own. There have been other critics who seem to regard a deviation from the Textus Receptus as little else than a heresy, and assume that the cursive MSS., on which it is based, are the representatives of other early *correct* codices, now lost, of a different type from those early ones that now exist, but more worthy of consideration. Probably the truth lies somewhere between the two extremes. We shall find in time that concessions will be made on both sides; and that critics, starting from different points of view, will come to agree in practical conclusions which will exhibit but little essential difference. We may take it for granted that had Lachmann been able to avail himself of the largely increased materials for criticism which we enjoy, both in the way of fresh MSS. discovered and old MSS. recollated and published, he must have been led by the application of his own principles to modify some of his own conclusions. And we rejoice to see that Dr. Scrivener has modified some of the expressions used in his first edition, and now lays down the following practical rules, which few will object to, 'That where the more ancient documents are at variance with each other, the later uncial *and cursive* copies, especially those of approved merit, are *of real importance*, as being the surviving representatives

of other codices, very probably as early, perhaps even earlier, than any now extant;’ and ‘That in weighing conflicting evidence we must assign the highest value not to those readings which are attested by the greatest number of witnesses, but to those which come to us from several remote and independent sources, and which bear the least likeness to each other in respect to genius and general character’ (Introd. p. 557, 3rd ed.).

In practice the determination of the true text is commonly a far more complicated business than might seem to be the case from what has been so far said.

The real question which underlies any divergence of view is this, How is the difference of type between the existing early uncials and the late cursives to be accounted for? Of course it is conceded that the cursives are the representatives of other earlier codices than those which are actually known: no one supposes them to have been copied or derived from these. But the point is, Did those other early codices from which our cursives were derived exhibit a type of text different from that of the known early uncials; and, if so, was it a more correct type? Or can we explain the differences of the two types of text on any reasonable grounds without the assumption of an arbitrary hypothesis? ‘The question, as is obvious (we willingly adopt the words of a not-unfriendly^a critic), depends upon the history and nature of the Byzantine series. If these are proveably copies, the peculiarities of which have arisen from traceable circumstances, but which really came at first from Alexandrine MSS., of course *cadit quæstio*. The altered copies, however numerous, are of no value as against the actual originals, whence themselves at first spring, and from which *ex hypothesi* they only differ by natural causes of corruption and change, and not through independent correction derived from

^a In the ‘Guardian,’ Aug. 21, 1872.

authentic sources. If, on the other hand, it can be made good that the Byzantine peculiarities indicate the past existence of a class of MSS. having these peculiarities, but as old as the Alexandrine, then these have as good a claim to attention as the others. It is simply a question between independent genealogy or faulty copying; and the discovery—say in Mount Athos—of an ancient uncial MS. of Byzantine type would reverse the balance of evidence altogether.’

The following pages are an attempt to explain the principles of those critics who take the existing evidence exactly as it stands, and who think that the phenomena may be fairly accounted for by direct inference therefrom. The earliest adumbration of these principles was given by Bentley in his letter to Archbishop Wake (1716), and his ‘*Proposals*’ (1720); but sufficient materials were not yet collected for him to bring his design to a satisfactory issue. To Lachmann is due the honour of having led the way to tangible results. His larger edition (vol. i. published in 1842, vol. ii. in 1850), in which he was assisted by Buttmann, was a gigantic stride in the science of Textual Criticism, placing it at once on a basis of scientific accuracy. Tischendorf, Tregelles, the late Dean Alford, and Bishop Lightfoot, have all followed more or less closely on the track thus indicated. Drs. Westcott and Hort have elaborated a closely reasoned and compact theory, which, while possessing many features in common with these principles, is in many others quite new.

There is another question to which the two schools of critics would give different answers; namely, *What weight is to be assigned to subjective arguments in deciding between various readings?* Those critics who profess to take the evidence of actually existing early documents as the basis of their conclusions are only consistent in assigning a very subordinate place to subjective arguments. But even among them *peculiarities of mental constitution and training will naturally*

dispose some individuals to attach more weight to this class of arguments than others do; and this is to a large extent the cause of the differences which are found between the texts of critics of the same school.

The term 'subjective' is here taken to include what Bishop Ellicott (Ep. to Gal., Preface, p. xviii, ed. 1859) distinguishes into *paradiplomatic* and *internal* evidence, meaning thereby respectively, 'The apparent probabilities of erroneous transcription, permutation of letters, itacism, and so forth;' and 'apparent deviations from the *usus scribendi* of the sacred author, or the *propensio*, be it *critica*, *dogmatica*, or *epexegetica*, on the part of the copyist.' The reason why a copyist having one form of words before him wrote another is after all only a question of greater or less probability. Such arguments cannot, and ought not to be ignored by the critic; but it is easy to magnify their weight unduly. To depend upon such considerations must be almost always precarious. For every such argument on one side, it is commonly possible to bring forward a corresponding one on the other ^b. Dean Alford's expression of opinion on this subject is worth quoting; the more so that it shows a very great modification of his original views. He says (G. T., vol. i. Proleg. p. 87, edd. 1863, 1868), 'Experience has brought about some change in my convictions with regard to the application of canons of subjective criticism to the consensus of ancient MSS. In proportion as I have been led severely to examine how far we can safely depend on such subjective considerations, I confess that the limits of their applicability have become narrowed. In very many cases they may be made to tell with equal force either way. One critic adopts a reading because it is in accord with the usage of the sacred writer; another holds it, for this very reason, to have been a subsequent conformation of the

^b See, for instance, some of the examples at the end of the book, pp. 118, 127, &c.

text. One believes a particle to have been inserted to give completeness; another to have been omitted as appearing superfluous.'

The differences exhibited by texts, as edited by critics of the diplomatic school^c, depend almost entirely upon their views of the limits of applicability of the canons referred to in this statement of Dean Alford, and of the mode of dealing with them.

It is impossible, nor would it be right, to separate entirely the diplomatic and the subjective evidence; for the diplomatic evidence should be sifted, arranged and distinguished on principles into which subjective considerations must enter. Only, if the subjective considerations are themselves made the subject of severe scrutiny, and dealt with in a scientific manner, as they may be^d, the weight of their verdict is infinitely increased: in fact they almost lose their merely subjective character.

On the other hand, few more thoroughgoing advocates of the subjective criterion simply applied will be found than Mr. Maclellan, who, in the Preface to his New Testament (vol. i. p. xxxv.), lays down the following Canon, which he calls the '*Golden Canon*,' and which he says 'must be invested with supremacy,' viz. '*That no reading can possibly be original which contradicts the context of the passage or the tenor of the writing.*' If such principles were generally adopted in settling the text the result must inevitably be to enlarge speedily the list of various readings assigned to No. 8 (p. 16). It is quite conceivable that the very reading in question might be the

^c How close the agreement is between the texts of Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles, arrived at independently, and how far they differ from the received text of Stephens, may be seen at a glance in Dr. Scrivener's exceedingly convenient little edition of the Greek Testament published in the 'Cambridge Greek and Latin Texts.'

^d Dr. Hort's handling of what he calls 'Intrinsic Probability' and '*Transcriptional Probability*' and the 'Internal Evidence of Documents,' is most instructive and masterly.

turning-point upon which the so-called 'tenor of the writing' depends. Each critic would determine for himself what was the 'tenor of the writing,' and of course his judgment would be more or less biassed by his theological prepossessions. Thus, under cover of a statement which at first sight appears simple enough, a door might be opened for the freest handling of the text. Mr. Maclellan is anxious to use his Canon in the interests of orthodoxy; but we cannot forget that to set up private judgment as the criterion of what is or is not Scripture has been a favourite weapon of heretics from Marcion downwards.

The principles and method of the science, as applied to the text of the New Testament, are for the most part the same as those required in dealing with the texts of the ancient classical authors; only the material is far more abundant and various than in the fields of secular criticism.

There are three sources of evidence: viz.—

1. A large number of MANUSCRIPTS OF THE GREEK TEXT, some containing the whole, some containing parts only, of the books which we now call collectively 'The New Testament;' written at various times from the fourth to the fourteenth centuries inclusive, and in all possible states of preservation.

2. VERSIONS, or translations of the Books of the New Testament into other languages than Greek. Those only are of value for critical purposes which were made between the second and seventh centuries. This class of evidence is particularly valuable, as will hereafter be seen, in questions concerning the early existence and prevalence of certain various readings.

3. QUOTATIONS in the writings of the ecclesiastical writers of the first five centuries; which, used cautiously and under conditions that will be explained afterwards (see Chap. V.), may be made to yield evidence of essential value.

CONJECTURAL EMENDATION, which has been sometimes of necessity exercised on the texts of secular writers, has practically no place in the criticism of the text of the New Testament. Amidst the abundance of resources the difficulty is rather to select than to invent. Whereas some of the classical texts rest upon a single late MS., we have between seventeen and eighteen hundred, including several of very early date, to make use of in discussing the sacred text. Translations into Latin are among the most trustworthy sources of information as to the text of some parts of Plato and Aristotle ; but we have no fewer than ten versions of the New Testament*, each possessing a distinct critical value. Lastly, the Quotations are manifold in the case of almost all the important passages. Thus we have a threefold cord of evidence, each strand of which is itself composed of many threads.

[It is well to bear in mind that where the phrase ' documentary evidence ' is used, it must be understood to include all or any of the three sources of evidence above mentioned that may bear upon the point under discussion ; and must not be limited, as is too often tacitly done, to MSS. of the Greek Text alone.]

* A sort of parallel to this is found in the sacred literature of the Buddhists. The Sanscrit originals of their sacred books have been translated into Thibetan, Mongolian, Chinese, and Mantschu ; and the Pâli (Ceylon) originals into the languages of Burmah and Siam. (Max Müller's ' Chips from a German Workshop,' vol. i. pp. 193, 195.)

CHAPTER I.

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE 'TEXTUS RECEPTUS.'

THE New Testament in Greek was not printed till the beginning of the sixteenth century. Up to that time it was circulated in manuscripts only. A few detached portions had been printed earlier; but the first complete edition was that prepared at Alcalà in Spain by Cardinal Ximenes, forming the fifth volume of the magnificent Triglott edition of the whole Bible published by him, and called, from the Latin name of the place, *The Complutensian*. The fifth volume was printed in 1514, and the whole work was completed in 1517, a few months only before Cardinal Ximenes' death. Some delay occurred after this, and it was not published till 1522. Only six hundred copies were printed. At that period little was understood of Greek criticism, or of the relative value of manuscripts. The Latin version was thought to be the truthful standard, and held the place of honour on the pages of this edition between the Hebrew and the Greek. The particular manuscripts from which the Complutensian text is formed have not been identified with certainty, but it is clear from the character of the text that none were used which do not belong to that type which we shall see reason to consider of late origin.

During the preparation of this work, a printer at Basel, named Froben, hearing of the Cardinal's design, and wishing to anticipate it, prevailed on the well-known scholar, Erasmus,

to prepare an edition for the press. This was done in great haste; and Erasmus' first edition was published in 1516, being thus the first published, though not the first printed, Greek text. He had four manuscripts to work from, all of which are identified: one of these is of great value, having a text approaching that of B and L; but its variations from the others caused him to be suspicious of it, and he based his text almost wholly on the other three, which are all of the late type^a. In the Apocalypse he boldly retranslated i. 15-20 from the Latin, his manuscript being defective; and he interpolated several words elsewhere, which exist in no known Greek MS.^b (see Scriv. Introd. p. 431). These interpolations, as well as Acts viii. 37, for which the only ancient testimony is the Latin version, have continued in the ordinary Greek text to the present day, and thence hold their place in our English translation. Erasmus, however, did not insert the verse 1 S. John v. 7 till his third edition. His second edition (1519) is of no special importance: it differs from the first in having many misprints corrected, which had crept in through the haste with which the work was brought out. The third edition (1522) is to be remarked as having for the first time a few various readings noted in the margin. More important, however, to us is the fourth edition (1527), which Erasmus corrected by the Complutensian, and which became the basis of the Textus Receptus. A fifth edition was published (1535), but it differed very little from the fourth.

The next most important edition is the third of Stephens,

^a These manuscripts are cursives, and present the characteristics of the Byzantine class (see pp. 72, 73). The only three MSS. of a different type known to any of these editors, viz. D, D₂, I, were looked on with suspicion and little used.

^b e. g. κεκοπίας καὶ οὐ κέκμηκας for καὶ οὐ κεκοπίας, ii. 3; ἐλκοσι-τέσσαρες and ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, v. 14; καὶ βλέπε, vi. 1, 3, 5; συνάγει, xiii. 10; ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ Θεοῦ, xiv. 5.

known as the *Editio Regia*, published at Paris in 1550. Its special value depends on the considerable and systematic collection of various readings from fifteen fresh manuscripts, including the valuable and ancient Codex Bezae (D), which Stephens added in the margin. The influence of prescription already shows itself in the fact that Stephens often follows the text of Erasmus, in defiance of the authority of his manuscripts. It is true that he does not acknowledge his debt to his predecessor: but inspection proves that, while the text of the two first small editions is a mixture of the texts of Erasmus and of the Complutensian, in the *Editio Regia* (the folio edition), he takes Erasmus' fourth edition almost exclusively as his basis.

Beza (1519-1605) published various editions between 1556 and 1598. He added a few more various readings from other manuscripts; but he still followed Stephens' text closely.

Later still the Elzevirs brought out their beautifully executed editions at Leyden, between 1624 and 1633. The text is again little more than a reproduction of Stephens' ^c; in fact it is asserted by them in the preface to their second edition to be *ab omnibus receptus*: and from this phrase comes the designation 'Textus Receptus.'

From this sketch it will have been seen that our Textus Receptus is based upon a very few manuscripts. It is true that a number of various readings had been collected; but they were only placed in the margin, and were not used in reconstructing the text, except occasionally, and then on no fixed principles. The value of various readings was not yet appreciated.

^c Stephens' and Elzevir's texts differ in 287 places according to Scrivener (Introd. p. 443). Our English version appears to follow sometimes Stephens' of 1550 and sometimes Beza's of 1589. See Smith's *Dict. Bib.* vol. ii. p. 524.

We must further bear in mind that the necessity for scrupulous accuracy in the work of collation was not yet understood; that the text of the Vulgate was faulty; that no help was sought from Oriental Versions; nor any attention paid to Patristic Quotations.

Enough has been said to show that no critical value is to be assigned to the Textus Receptus. In saying this we by no means imply that blame is due to Erasmus, Stephens, or Beza, for not being on a level with the critics of the present day. Principles of textual criticism could not be worked out until materials had been collected: and the collection of materials was the work of time and research. These men were the pioneers of the advance, and did indispensable service. But we must learn not to elevate the text formed from their materials into an authority. The facts which we are about to discuss will show us that while we are warranted in refusing any authority to the Textus Receptus, we are led with reasonable certainty towards a new text, somewhat different from the old one, and with some few points still undetermined, but resting on the basis of an infinitely multiplied stock of materials, and supported by a well-understood and searching system of criticism.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE ORIGIN OF VARIOUS READINGS.

It is important that we should try to realize the amount of depreciation to which a text is liable under the hands of successive copyists. From the very nature of the case it is probable that errors should creep in. We know how liable printed books are to suffer from typographical errors: they have however this advantage, that by due care most of the errors will be corrected before the book is published; and then all the copies issued will have the same degree of correctness. In the case of a manuscript, not only is the difficulty of correcting the errors greater, but after all the correctness of only one copy is secured. Further, when this copy comes to be in its turn an exemplar to be copied, its own particular errors will be reproduced; and the copyist will certainly be found to have made fresh errors; and thus at each stage the text will tend to recede more and more from the original. The natural conclusion from this is, that the text of a manuscript written in the fifteenth century would probably differ from the autograph text of the Apostles, more widely than a manuscript of the fourth century. Of course there is always the *possibility* that a recent codex may be a direct copy from one of great antiquity; and thus be a more trustworthy representative of the original, than one made some centuries earlier than itself. Such a claim must be proved for every alleged case.

The conclusion, however, rests on stronger grounds than mere presumption. Of all the known MSS. of the Greek text, amounting to more than eighteen hundred, only two pairs of uncials^a so resemble one another as to render it probable that they are in any way mutually connected one with the other. And it has been demonstrated^b that the four cursives, 13, 69, 124, and 346, are all derived from one older uncial MS., now lost, which would present an independent text having some affinity to that of D, but much purer, and the value of which would stand not lower than D. It is just possible that close scrutiny might detect other similar groups among the many as yet slightly known cursives; but it has not been done yet: and even among these there are many variations. It is certain then that the comparison of any two MSS. would give rise to a number of various readings; and the number would of course be increased as more MSS. were compared. The possible sources of these variations are not very numerous, and can be easily understood by considering the mode in which MSS. were transcribed, and the chances to which they were liable during the centuries which have since elapsed.

The majority of the later MSS. were doubtless executed in the monasteries, of which the *Scriptorium* was a regular department. But in earlier times they must have been the production of the regular professional copyists, who would regard their task as a mere piece of business, and would bring to it no particular religious feeling nor extraordinary pains. Sometimes one scribe would have the exemplar before him and copy it singly; or several scribes might undertake

^a viz. Cod. Sangermanensis (E₁) considered to be derived from Cod. Claromontanus (D₁); and Codd. Boernerianus (G₁) and Augiensis (F₁) thought to be derived from some common archetype. (Vid. Scriv. Introd. pp. 163-172.)

^b *A Collation of Four Important MSS., &c., &c.*, by the late W. H. Ferrar, M.A., edited by T. K. Abbott, M.A. (Dublin, 1877).

different parts of the work. The copy thus taken was subjected to a careful revision, being recompiled with the exemplar, and sometimes a second time with some standard copy. The technical words for these processes are respectively *ἀντιβάλλειν* and *διορθοῦν*. The corrector was sometimes the scribe himself, sometimes a different person. Such a comparison with a copy in repute would add value to the codex, and would be noted accordingly; e.g. in the Codex Friderico-Augustanus the following words occur in the subscription to the Book of Esther: *μετελημφθη και διορθωθη προς τα ἑξαπλα Ὁριγενους ὑπ αὐτου διορθωμενα. Ἀντωνινος ὁμολογητης αντεβαλεν, Παμφιλος διορθωσα το τευχος ἐν τη φυλακη.*

In how merely professional a spirit this revision was sometimes executed is well exemplified by some of the corrections found in the Codex Vaticanus (B). One of the commonest errors in manuscripts is a confusion of *ει* with *ι*. Now in different parts of the Cod. Vat. the same word is found spelt sometimes with *ει*, sometimes with *ι*; e.g. in S. Luke xxiii. 10, S. John vii. 37, &c., *ειστηκεισαν, εισηκει* are rightly written by the original scribe; in S. Matt. xii. 46, xiii. 2, &c. they stand *ισηκεισαν, ιισηκει*. In the latter places the corrector has substituted the *ει* in the first syllable; in the former he has wrongly substituted *ι* for *ει*. Again there are a number of palpably false corrections by the second hand, as *προς σαββατον* for *προσαββατον*, S. Mark xv. 42; *ἔθος* for *ἔθνος*, Acts viii. 9; *κεκοινωνηκε* for *κεκοινωκε*, Acts xxi. 28. Manifestly this is the work of no intelligent critic. The corrector must have had a codex before him, in which the words in question were confused; and with mechanical accuracy he transferred the confusion to the pages which he was correcting.

Sometimes it appears as if a codex had passed into the hands of some learned person, who had an opportunity of recombining it with another exemplar, and thus a further series of corrections was introduced; a process which might

take place more than once. When this has been the case, it is easy to see what an amount of tact, patience, and judgment, may be required to decipher, weigh, and arrange, all the evidence that the manifold corrections may be made to give. The Cod. Sinaiticus (A) has corrections by no fewer than twelve hands, of dates ranging from the fourth to the twelfth century. The Cod. Vaticanus (B), as we have just seen, is corrected throughout from another MS. (See the complete proofs of this in Kuenen and Cobet's edition, Pref. pp. xxiii-xxxviii.) As the corrections in this last case are of the same age as the original writing, though not by the original scribe, it is clear that within the compass of one codex we have the evidence of *two* manuscripts, each perhaps much older than the codex itself, which dates from the middle of the fourth century.

Another fruitful source of various readings is that the possessor of a MS. would write in the margin some explanatory note, which a subsequent scribe, with the MS. before him for a copy, looked upon as having been an accidental omission, and incorporated in his new text. Instances of this will be found below.

On the whole, the possible sources of various readings may be classified as follows:—

Possible sources of various readings.	{	Unconscious, or unintentional.	1. Errors of <i>sight</i> .
			2. Errors of <i>hearing</i> .
			3. Errors of <i>memory</i> .
		{	Conscious, or intentional.
	5. Corrections of harsh or unusual forms of words, or expressions.		
	6. Alterations in the text to produce supposed harmony with another passage, to complete a quotation, or to clear up a supposed difficulty.		
	7. Liturgical insertions.		
	8. Alterations for dogmatic reasons.		

The last head has been added because certain alterations have been sometimes attributed to that cause. It is a possible cause in a few cases, but generally the alterations which have been set down to this source may be attributed to other sources.

Although these possible sources of variation have been arranged under separate heads, it must not be overlooked that conscious and unconscious mental action may operate together, and thus that an error may sometimes be due to both conjointly. It is probable, too, that, in estimating the reasons of variations, enough stress is not generally laid upon the unconscious failures of eye and hand and brain of the copyists.

A few typical instances of the various readings arising from each of these sources shall now be given in order.

- i. To this head will belong omissions arising from what is called *Homoioleuton*. If two consecutive lines in the exemplar before the copyist ended with the same word, or even sometimes with the same syllable, his eye caught the second line instead of the first, and he omitted the intermediate words. Occasionally this happens at longer distances than single lines. This is perhaps the reason of the omission in many codices of the words *ὁ ὁμολογῶν τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἔχει*, 1 S. John ii. 23, which are wanting in the Textus Receptus, but which belong to the true text; and of the words *τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πεμψάντος με*, S. John vi. 39, in Cod. C. In both these cases the clause preceding the omission ends with the same words as the clause omitted. The notes of any critical edition of the New Testament will supply numerous other instances.

Under this head may also be classified the variations arising from the confusion of similar letters, as ε, c (2)

O, Θ; or A, Λ, Δ; or Π, ΤΙ, changing ΠΑΝ into ΤΙ ΑΝ; or Μ, ΛΑ, confusing ΑΜΑ and ΑΛΛΑ. This and the following kinds of error chiefly occur in uncial manuscripts; in which the words are written continuously, without any break or space between them. This is perhaps the origin of the well-known difficulty in 1 Tim. iii. 16 between the readings OC (ὁς) and ΘC (θεός).

Similar letters or syllables are sometimes omitted and sometimes inserted; e. g. for the true reading ΠΡΟC-ΕΛΘΩΝ in S. Matt. xxvi. 39, we have ΠΡΟCΕΛΘΩΝ in Codd. B, M; and for ΕΚΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΑΔΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ in S. Luke ix. 49 we find ΕΚΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΑΤΑΔΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ in Cod. H.

Letters sometimes become transposed; e. g. Acts xiii. 23, for C̄ΠΑΙΝ (σωτήρα Ἰησοῦν) we find in Codd. H₂, L₂, C̄ΠΑΙΝ (σωτηρίαν). The thin horizontal lines above the words, which mark a contraction, are easily misplaced or overlooked, and in process of time would fade.

2. Perhaps to *errors of hearing* may be assigned the frequent *itacisms*, or confusions of letters having similar sounds, which are found in manuscripts of every age: or they may arise from degenerate pronunciation. One of the commonest confusions is that of the letters Ι and ΕΙ, which are interchanged continually, even in words where the Ι is short: e. g. 1 Thess. i. 3 in Cod. B, ἀδιαικτως stands written ΑΔΕΙΑΙΗΤΩC *prima manu*. In many cases, as in this last, the variation makes no difference in the sense, and can be at once corrected; but it is easy to see that such confusion might materially affect the sense.

The following are some of the commonest itacisms; and the instances of each are such as would involve a greater or less difference in the sense.

Confusion of *AI* and *ε* is very common : e. g.

ὑποτασσετε for *-ται*, S. Luke x. 20 (Cod. B*).

ἐταιροis for *ἐτεροis*, S. Matt. xi. 16 (several MSS.).

A — *ε* *ἀκουσατε* for *-σετε*, S. Matt. xiii. 14 (Cod. B*).

πληρωσετε for *-σατε*, S. Matt. xxiii. 32 (Cod. B*).

I — *Η* *ληνον* for *λινον*, S. Matt. xii. 20 (Cod. B°).

καμιλον for *καμηλον*, S. Luke xviii. 25 (Cod. S).

χριστος for *χρηστος*, 1 S. Pet. ii. 3 (Codd. K₂, L₂).

I — *ΕΙ* *στρατεια* for *στρατια*, Acts vii. 42 (Codd. A, B, D).

εἶται for *ἰται* (for *ἴται* perf., not *ἰται* pres.),

S. Mark v. 29 (Cod. B*).

O — *Ω* late and comparatively rare :

ποιησομεν for *ποιησωμεν*, S. Luke iii. 14 (several codices).

βαθεος for *βαθεως*, S. Luke xxiv. 1 (Cod. E, &c.).

μετα διωγμον for *-μων*, S. Mark x. 30 (several cursives).

ὁ εἶπων for *ὃν εἶπον*, S. John i. 15 (Cod. K^a, B*, C*).

An instance of an error of sound, slightly different in kind from the foregoing, is perhaps *καιπερ ἐστιν* for *και παρεσται*, Apoc. xvii. 8, which some of the cursives give, and which has passed into the Textus Receptus.

Sometimes we find the terminations of consecutive words assimilated, e. g. *του ἀγγελου αὐτου του δουλου αὐτου* for *του ἀγγελου αὐτου τω δουλω αὐτου* (Cod. A), Apoc. i. 1; or *λεγοντων Ἰουδαιων* for *λεγοντων Ἰουδαιουσ* (Cod. C), Apoc. ii. 9.

There is one sort of error which might be placed under either of these classes; arising from a confusion between words spelt with a single or double consonant: e. g. *οὐχ ὅτι περι των πτωχων ἐμελλεν αὐτω*, S. John xii. 6 (Cod. B), for *ἐμελεν*. So between *γεγεννημαι, ἐγεννηθησαν*, and *γεγεννημαι, ἐγεννηθησαν*, S. John i. 13, &c.; and *ἐγεννηθμεν ηἱπιοι* for *ἐγ. ἡπιοι* (Codd. K, B*), in 1 Thess. ii. 7.

3. To error of memory may probably be attributed the not unfrequent substitutions of synonymous words, such as *έφη* for *είπεν*; *μιμνηται* for *ζηλωται*, 1 Pet. iii. 13 (Codd. K₂, L₂); interchange of *δραω* and *θεωρεω*, &c.; while the interchange, omission, or insertion of small particles like *και*, *δε*, *τε*, give rise to numberless variations.

4. The following are probably instances of marginal glosses erroneously incorporated in the text:

και βλέπε inserted after *έρχου*, Apoc. vi. 1, 3, 5, 7.

Acts xv. 24, *λέγοντες περιτέμενεσθαι και τηρείν τον νόμον*,

„ „ 34, *έδοξε δέ τῳ Σιλα επιμείναι αυτού*,

both which passages are wanting in most of the best MSS. There is a most singular instance in one cursive manuscript, where, at 2 Cor. viii. 4, 5, the scribe has written *δέξασθαι ήμās [έν πολλοίς τών αντιγράφων ούτως εύρηται]* *και ου καθώς ήλπίσαμεν*. The words within the brackets, which brackets do not of course appear in the original, were no doubt a marginal note in the codex from which the scribe was copying, and have reference to the words *δέξασθαι ήμās*, which are omitted in the best codices. There was a much stronger tendency to insert than to omit; whence springs the well-known canon *lectio præferatur brevior*: that is to say, if there are two readings, one longer than the other, the short reading is more likely than the other to be the true one.

5. In the earlier MSS. we find many forms of words and expressions that are quite unclassical; such as *τεσσαρεκοντα* for *τεσσαρακοντα*; *σπειρης*, Acts xxi. 31; *μαχαιρη*, S. Matt. xxvi. 52; *πλημυνης*, S. Luke vi. 48: the *μ* constantly inserted in parts of *λαμβάνω* and its derivatives, *λημψομαι*, *λημφθεις*, &c.; the final *s* of *ούτως* and the *ν* *έφελευστικόν* constantly affixed even before consonants; *ν* not assimilated in verbs compounded with *εν* and *συν*; e. g. *ένκακειν*, *συνκαλειν*; and aor. forms with 1st aor.

terminations, as *εἶδα*, *ἤλθα*, &c.; and such harsh constructions as *ἀπο ὁ ὦν*, Apoc. i. 4; with many more, of which Part II. of Winer's Grammar of N. T. Greek, the Prolegomena of Tischendorf's Greek Test., or Scrivener's Introduction, will give examples. These are for the most part altered in the later MSS. into classical forms; and the phrase above quoted from Apoc. i. 4 is rendered less abrupt by the insertion of *τοῦ*, as it is now read in the Textus Receptus, *ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁ ὦν*, κ. τ. λ. Kuenen and Cobet, in their edition of the Vatican MS. (Leyden, 1860), make merry with the want of scholarlike acumen on the part of editors who retain such forms in their text; and assume that they have their origin solely in the ignorance and '*plebeia συνήθεια*' of the scribes. But they occur with such persistent frequency in the earlier MSS., that it is difficult to believe that they had no place in the original text. At any rate, those editors, whose aim is to represent the earliest form of text which they believe attainable according to their principles, are consistent in retaining such forms. (See below, chap. vi.)

6. Alteration, either by substitution or addition, in order to produce conformity in parallel passages, is a fruitful source of variation. Dr. Tregelles has suggested that Tatian's Diatessaron of the Gospels, formed in the second century, probably fostered this tendency, by drawing attention to their differences. But the practice is not by any means confined to the Gospels. Some instances are S. Matt. xix. 17, *τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ*; *εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγαθός*, changed into *τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν*; *οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἰς*, from the parallel passages in S. Mark and S. Luke. Again, in S. Matt. xvii. 2, for *λευκὰ ὡς τὸ φῶς*, D and other authorities have *λευκὰ ὡς χιὼν*, from S. Mark ix. 3. In the account of S. Peter's Denial

(S. Mark xiv.) several alterations are introduced into Cod. $\mathfrak{N}$, apparently to produce harmony with the other accounts: $\delta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ is omitted in ver. 30, $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\omega\rho$ $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\acute{\omega}\nu\eta\sigma\epsilon$ in ver. 68, and $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon$ in ver. 72. In Acts ix. 4, $\sigma\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\sigma\omicron\iota$ $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\rho\alpha$ $\lambda\alpha\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ is added by Cod. E, from the parallel passage in ch. xxvi. 14, to which the words really belong.

Quotations from the Old Testament are constantly amplified; as at Rom. xiii. 9, where $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ is inserted in some cursives; Heb. xii. 20, η $\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\iota}\delta\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\text{-}\tau\omicron\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ is added in some after $\lambda\iota\theta\omicron\beta\omicron\lambda\eta\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$. On S. Matt. xv. 8, see below, p. 79.

As instances where an alteration has been made to clear up a supposed difficulty, we may take S. Matt. vi. 1, where $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta\nu$ is read in the common text for $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta\nu$; and S. Mark iii. 29, where $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ has been altered into $\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$.

7. Two distinct kinds of variations are assigned to this head:—

a. Many of our existing MSS. are copies, not of the whole New Testament, nor of consecutive portions of it, but of Lectionaries; that is to say, collections of passages selected for public reading in the Church services, either as Lessons, or Epistles and Gospels. In passages thus taken out of their connection a word or two must often be added to give a complete sense; sometimes a proper name is substituted for a pronoun; and sometimes a connecting particle will be dropped. All such changes are noted as various readings, though of course they are immaterial to the sense. Hence possibly arose the readings $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\pi\epsilon$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\acute{\omicron}$ Κύριος , S. Luke vii. 31, and $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\phi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\pi\epsilon\nu$, S. Luke x. 22. Just the same sort of variation may be noticed *if the Gospels for the third and fourth Sundays after*

Easter in our Prayer-book, or some of those for the Sundays after Trinity, be compared with the same passages as they stand in their original connection.

But not only does this occur in the Lectionaries. It very early became the custom to adapt codices for use as Lectionaries by adding the marks ἀρχή and τέλος, or abbreviations for these words, in the margin, to indicate the beginning and ending of the Lectures; and moreover to make the necessary verbal alterations alluded to above also in the margin. Then, if such an adapted MS. was transcribed, it sometimes happened that these marginal additions became incorporated in the text. Dean Burgon (Twelve Verses, chap. xi.) notes a variety of such instances.

β. There are two or three insertions in the New Testament which have been supposed to have their origin in ecclesiastical usage. The words in question, being familiarly known in a particular connection, were perhaps noted in the margin of some copy, and thence became incorporated by the next transcriber; or a transcriber's own familiarity with the words might have led to his inserting them. This is the source to which Dr. Tregelles assigns the insertion of the Doxology at the close of the Lord's Prayer, in S. Matt. vi., which is wanting in most of the best authorities. Perhaps also Acts viii. 37, containing the baptismal Profession of Faith, which is entirely wanting in the best authorities, found its way into the Latin text in this manner.

8. Among readings for which this cause has been suggested, are the alterations in S. Matt. xix. 17 (see above, under No. 6); the variant κυρίου in Acts xx. 28 for θεοῦ; and the substitution of οὕτω for οὕκ, S. John vii. 8; Ἰωσήφ for πατήρ αὐτοῦ, S. Luke ii. 33; υἱός for θεός, S. John i. 18; the insertion of a mention of fasting with praying

S. Matt. xvii. 21, S. Mark ix. 29, Acts x. 30, 1 Cor. vii. 5 ; and the omission of S. Mark xvi. 9-20.

It might be thought by some persons a safer plan to classify the errors than to attempt to assign the sources of error. The following list is therefore suggested, based upon the classification of errors which Professor Madvig makes, in laying down the Principles of Textual Criticism as applied to secular writings (*Adversaria Critica*, lib. i. cap. 1). It will not be difficult to see which of the examples already given illustrate the different heads. Many of the errors included under No. 7, and all those belonging to Nos. 8 and 9, which are the same as Nos. 7 and 8 of the former list, arise entirely from the nature of the subject matter.

1. Permutation of letters or words that resemble one another in appearance or sound.
2. Faulty division and connection of words. (This is an error to which MSS. transcribed from uncials which were written continuously are very liable.)
3. Doubling of letters, syllables, or words, which ought to be written once only.
4. Omissions (by homoioteleuton or otherwise) and transpositions of letters or words through carelessness.
5. Assimilation to one another of the terminations of neighbouring words.

The foregoing sorts of error are unintentional, and arise from failure of attention, or of memory.

6. Introduction of foreign matter (glosses, &c.). (This arises from defective knowledge, or error of judgment, on the part of the scribe.)
7. Corrections or interpolations with greater or less degree of *intentional* alteration.
8. Liturgical insertions.
9. Dogmatic alterations.

We are now in a better position, after this enumeration of

errors, or possible sources of error, to estimate the chances against the original text being preserved unaltered through a series of transcriptions. One would naturally expect a divergence of the text of any given MS. from the original text, proportionate to the number of transcriptions it had undergone. Each transcriber in turn would probably import some variations through inadvertence.

But now another consideration must be added. So long as the transcriptions are made under similar circumstances, the tendency will be to accumulate errors of the same kind. Hence comes the result, paradoxical at first sight, that *from originals, marked by decided individual characteristics, texts may be produced that converge towards, and successively more nearly exhibit, another particular type.* 'Groups of copies spring, not from the imperfect reproduction of the character of one typical exemplar, but from the multiplication of characteristic variations.' We should expect then to find, in process of time, a number of MSS., mutually differing from one another in small respects, but tolerably unanimous in presenting a text which will differ in *complexion* from the text presented by much earlier MSS.; and that though the former might have been derived by direct descent from the latter. This is just what we do find.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE GREEK TEXT.

§ 1. *On the number, mode of designation, &c., of MSS.*

THE gross total number of manuscripts of the Greek Text whose existence is known, uncial and cursive included, is stated by Dr. Scrivener^a to be 2094, viz. 97 Uncials, and of Cursives and Lectionaries, (which are now alike distinguished by numerals), 737 of the Gospels, 261 Acts and Catholic Epistles, 336 Pauline Epistles, 122 of the Apocalypse, 414 Evangelistaria, and 127 Praxapostoli.

It must not, however, be supposed, either that they are manuscripts of the whole New Testament, or that the contents of all of them have been fully examined.

The Cod. Sinaiticus is the only uncial that exhibits the whole New Testament entire. Cod. A is very nearly complete; Cod. B is not quite so complete, but has by far the larger part of the New Testament; Cod. C contains portions of every one of the books except 2 Thess. and 2 S. John; and there are about thirty known cursives which are either complete or very nearly so.

The student should carefully mark the conventions commonly used in citing MSS. At the same time he must remember that they are not uniformly adopted yet, but that each critic has some slight peculiarities of his own.

^a Introd. App. p. xxx. There are slightly differing accounts at pp. 75 and 307: probably owing to the fact that Dr. Scrivener received fresh information while his book was passing through the press.

- a. Capital letters are used to denote uncials; cursives and Lectionaries are now all denoted by numerals.
- β. The Books of the New Testament were generally divided into four volumes: viz. (1) the Gospels; (2) the Acts and Catholic Epistles; (3) the Pauline Epistles; (4) the Apocalypse. If a MS. contain more than one of these volumes, the books generally follow each other in this order. There are a few special exceptions, which are given by Scrivener (Intro. p. 70, § 26). Besides these four volumes, there are the Lectionaries (see p. 29), denominated (5) Evangelistaria, or (6) Praxapostoli or Apostoli, according as the selection of passages is made from the Gospels, or Acts and Epistles. Our existing MSS., whether uncials or cursives, are thus distributed into six groups. Now, with regard to the first four of these groups, it is to be remarked that *the series of letters and numerals commence over again for each group*: consequently, a MS. which includes more than one of these volumes will be counted afresh in each series, and possibly not in the same place in the series. Thus we find different MSS. denoted by the same letter or numeral, in different parts of the New Testament; and the same MS. denoted by different letters, or numerals, in the different parts: e. g. α, A and C, whose readings run through the whole of the New Testament, are quoted by the same letters everywhere; but B, the letter under which for the first three of the four volumes the well-known Vatican MS. is cited, is assigned to a different MS. (Cod. Basilianus) in the Apocalypse, which book is wanting in the great Vatican MS. So D is the designation of Cod. Bezaë in the Gospels and Acts, but of Cod. Claromontanus in the Epistles of S. Paul; and E means Cod. Basiliensis for the Gospels, Cod. Laudianus for the Acts, and Cod.

O, Θ; or A, Λ, Δ; or Π, ΤΙ, changing ΠΑΝ into ΤΙ ΑΝ; or Μ, ΛΑ, confusing ΑΜΑ and ΑΛΛΑ. This and the following kinds of error chiefly occur in uncial manuscripts; in which the words are written continuously, without any break or space between them. This is perhaps the origin of the well-known difficulty in 1 Tim. iii. 16 between the readings OC (ὁς) and ΘC (θεός).

Similar letters or syllables are sometimes omitted and sometimes inserted; e. g. for the true reading ΠΡΟC-ΕΛΘΩΝ in S. Matt. xxvi. 39, we have ΠΡΟΕΛΘΩΝ in Codd. B, M; and for ΕΚΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΑΔΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ in S. Luke ix. 49 we find ΕΚΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΑΤΑΔΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ in Cod. H.

Letters sometimes become transposed; e. g. Acts xiii. 23, for CΠΑΙΝ (σωτήρα Ἰησοῦν) we find in Codd. H₂, L₂, CΠΑΙΝ (σωτηρίαν). The thin horizontal lines above the words, which mark a contraction, are easily misplaced or overlooked, and in process of time would fade.

2. Perhaps to *errors of hearing* may be assigned the frequent *itacisms*, or confusions of letters having similar sounds, which are found in manuscripts of every age: or they may arise from degenerate pronunciation. One of the commonest confusions is that of the letters Ι and ΕΙ, which are interchanged continually, even in words where the Ι is short: e. g. 1 Thess. i. 3 in Cod. B, ἀδιαιλέτως stands written ΑΔΕΙΑΔΙΠΤΩC *prima manu*. In many cases, as in this last, the variation makes no difference in the sense, and can be at once corrected; but it is easy to see that such confusion might materially affect the sense.

The following are some of the commonest itacisms; and the instances of each are such as would involve a greater or less difference in the sense.

Confusion of AI and E is very common : e. g.

ὑποτασσετε for *-ται*, S. Luke x. 20 (Cod. B*).

ἑταιροις for *ἐτεροις*, S. Matt. xi. 16 (several MSS.).

A — E *ἀκουσατε* for *-σετε*, S. Matt. xiii. 14 (Cod. B*).

πληρωσετε for *-σατε*, S. Matt. xxiii. 32 (Cod. B*).

I — H *λῆνον* for *λινον*, S. Matt. xii. 20 (Cod. B^o).

καμilon for *καμηλον*, S. Luke xviii. 25 (Cod. S).

χριστος for *χρηστος*, I S. Pet. ii. 3 (Codd. K₂, L₂).

I — EI *στρατεια* for *στρατια*, Acts vii. 42 (Codd. A, B, D).

εἶται for *ἰται* (for *ἱται* perf., not *ἱται* pres.),

S. Mark v. 29 (Cod. B*).

O — Ω late and comparatively rare :

ποιησομεν for *ποιησωμεν*, S. Luke iii. 14 (several codices).

βαθεος for *βαθεως*, S. Luke xxiv. 1 (Cod. E, &c.).

μετα διωγμον for *-μων*, S. Mark x. 30 (several cursives).

δ *εἶπων* for *ὃν εἶπον*, S. John i. 15 (Cod. K^a, B*, C*).

An instance of an error of sound, slightly different in kind from the foregoing, is perhaps *καπερ ἐστιν* for *και παρεσται*, Apoc. xvii. 8, which some of the cursives give, and which has passed into the Textus Receptus.

Sometimes we find the terminations of consecutive words assimilated, e. g. *του ἀγγελου αὐτου του δουλου αὐτου* for *του ἀγγελου αὐτου τω δουλῳ αὐτου* (Cod. A), Apoc. i. 1 ; or *λεγοντων Ἰουδαιων* for *λεγοντων Ἰουδαιουσ* (Cod. C), Apoc. ii. 9.

There is one sort of error which might be placed under either of these classes ; arising from a confusion between words spelt with a single or double consonant : e. g. *οὐχ ὅτι περι των πτωχων ἐμελλεν αὐτω*, S. John xii. 6 (Cod. B), for *ἐμελεν*. So between *γεγεννημαι, ἐγεννηθησαν*, and *γεγεννημαι, ἐγεννηθησαν*, S. John i. 13, &c. ; and *ἐγεννηθημεν ἡπιοι* for *ἐγ. ἡπιοι* (Codd. K, B*), in 1 Thess. ii. 7.

Lectionaries from widely different localities, if found to agree in passages that are obviously suitable to certain great Days or Seasons, are entitled to great attention, as being not only independent but very probably early witnesses.

The particular locality to which a given Lectionary belonged can often be identified by the names of the Saints whose days have Lections assigned to them: many Saints being only locally commemorated.

There is one kind of evidence in particular which the Lectionaries give with a force utterly outweighing that of other codices: that is, when a question arises about the *canonicity* of a passage; in other words, its claim to be considered part of inspired scripture. It is easy to see that if a Lectionary includes any particular passage, it is evidence that the Church in a certain district believed in the genuineness and canonicity of that passage. Lectionaries record the witness not of individuals but of churches. And thus it follows that, *for the purpose we have just indicated*, a Lectionary, even though recent, would have great weight, far exceeding that of an ordinary codex of the same date; for it represents a fixed tradition, widespread and of great antiquity. On the other hand, in questions of minute verbal accuracy, Lectionaries would not rank before the ordinary codices as direct witnesses.

§ 3. *On some palæographic details.*

For a minute description of the materials and palæographic details of MSS., the reader should consult some larger work, such as Dr. Scrivener's; or Horne and Tregelles' Introduction, vol. iv. A very few remarks will suffice for the object of this book. Uncial characters were employed down to the tenth or eleventh centuries; but cursive characters began to come into use as early as the ninth; therefore *we have some cursive MSS. older than some uncials.*

It may be laid down as a general rule that the more upright, square, and simple the uncial characters are, the earlier is the writing. Narrow, oblong, and leaning characters came in later, together with greater elaborateness in style. Absence of initial letters of larger size than the rest is a mark of antiquity. In the earlier MSS. marks of breathing, accent, and punctuation are very rare, frequently absent altogether; or, if present, inserted on no apparent fixed principle, except that a dot, to mark the division of sentences, became pretty general about the beginning of the fifth century. In some MSS., where the accents appear, as in Cod. B (see facsimile, Plate No. 2), they have been added by a much later hand. From these and other marks of a like kind it is perfectly possible for an expert to fix the date of any given manuscript of reasonable length by inspection, to within fifty years at the outside, without regard to the subject matter of the book.

§ 4. *On the various systems of divisions of the text.*

We must first notice the arrangement of the text in *στίχοι* (*line-clauses*). The use of this would probably be to assist the reader; for the length of the lines varies considerably, answering closely enough to the intervals at which we should place commas to mark the slight pauses in the sense. Not many MSS. are arranged in this way; the waste of space being too considerable in days when vellum was the only material for books of value.

It is uncertain who divided the Gospels on this principle. S. Paul's Epistles, and the Acts and Catholic Epistles, were so arranged by Euthalius, a deacon of Alexandria, in the latter half of the fifth century; the Pauline Epistles in 458, the Acts and Cath. Epp. in 490 A.D.

The subscriptions, however, in Cod. $\aleph$ to some of the Epistles, by a very ancient hand, recording the numbers of the *στίχοι* in the Epistles (which numbers agree with those of

Euthalius in only one instance), seem to indicate the existence of a still older division on this principle.

I. Of the GOSPELS there are several systems of division :

1. The one which seems to be the oldest of all extant is found in Cod. B and Cod. $\aleph$ only. The breaks depend on the sense; a fresh section commencing wherever a new subject is introduced. Hence, though valuable to the reader, it would be an inconvenient division for public use, since the sections are of very unequal length. They are reproduced in Dr. Tregelles' edition of the Greek Text.
2. Next in order both of antiquity and importance are the so-called Ammonian Sections. It seems probable that the divisions, as they stand at present, are not to be attributed to Ammonius of Alexandria (third century), from whom they take their name; but that they are to be assigned to Eusebius of Cæsarea (fourth century), in connection with whose useful and ingenious system of Canons they are most known.

Ammonius' idea was to form a harmony of the four Gospels, taking that of S. Matthew for the basis, and arranging the others in parallel columns with it, where the accounts coincided. Thus of course the thread of narrative of the other three was broken. Eusebius' intention seems to have been slightly different from this. He worked out a system for indicating the parallel passages between the Gospels, without destroying the sequence of any of them. A very slight examination of the Canons will show that by parallel passages (*τὰ παραπλήσια*) Eusebius means *passages which are illustrative of one another*, and not passages which give accounts of the same events: e. g. the Miraculous Draught of Fishes after the Resurrection (S. John xxi. 1-6) is compared with the similar miracle at the beginning of our Lord's Ministry (S. Luke v. 4-7) (see Canon IX). The object aimed at,

in short, is rather that of our marginal references than a harmony properly so called^c.

The length of the Sections depends, not on the sense, but upon the verbal coincidence or disagreement of one Evangelist with another. Each gospel is divided on this principle, and its sections are numbered continuously from the beginning throughout. S. Matthew's Gospel contains 355; St. Mark's 233 down to c. xvi. 8; S. Luke's 342; and S. John's 232. Eusebius formed ten Tables (Canons): No. 1 contains a list of the places (seventy-one) in which all four Evangelists agree; Nos. 2, 3, and 4 contain lists of places in which three of them have something in common; Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 contain lists of places in which two combine; and No. 10 a list of sixty-two passages peculiar to some one Evangelist. In the Greek MSS. of course the numbers are given in the Greek letters which denote the numerals in question. The Canons and Sections may be found in Wordsworth's and Tischendorf's editions of the Greek Testament, transcribed into the corresponding Arabic numerals.

The method of using them is as follows. Let us suppose that we want to find the parallel passages to some given passage; say S. Matt. xxii. 15, &c.: we find two numbers, 223 and 2, prefixed to the passage, one placed above the other; the upper number (223) is the number of the Section, the lower one (2) denotes the Table. We refer then to Table II, which we find contains passages common to S. Matthew, S. Mark, and S. Luke; and in a horizontal line with the No. 223 of S. Matthew's order we find the numbers of the parallel Sections in S. Mark and S. Luke, viz. 130 and 243.

The numbers indicating the Sections are found noted in

^c Much interesting and valuable matter on these Sections will be found in Dean Burgon's book, 'Last Twelve Verses,' pp. 125-132, and 295-312.

the margin of by far the larger number of known MSS. ; the numbers of the Canons being also added in most cases though wanting in a few examples. The earliest instance of their occurrence is in Cod. κ , written by a contemporary hand with the scribe, if not by the scribe himself. Cod. κ does not exhibit them.

3. The *τίτλοι*, sometimes called *κεφάλαια*, but improperly and inconveniently, inasmuch as this designation properly belongs to the Ammonian Sections, are another set of divisions of the Gospels very commonly found. This division is made according to the sense ; but a *τίτλος* sometimes contains more than one subject. The name is apparently derived from the fact that each section has a short descriptive heading or designation, taken from the first or principal subject contained in it : e.g. the Sermon on the Mount, which forms the fifth of the *τίτλοι* of S. Matthew's Gospel, is headed *περὶ τῶν μακαρισμῶν*. These headings are noted sometimes in the margin, sometimes at the head or foot of the page, or both together ; and a list of them is generally prefixed to each book. They may be seen in Dr. Tregelles' edition of the Greek Testament. This division was perhaps made for the sake of convenience in public reading. No trace of it is found in Cod. κ or B.

II. There are also several modes of dividing the ACTS and EPISTLES.

1. A continuation of the old system above mentioned (p. 32) is found in Cod. B. It presents, in respect of S. Paul's Epistles, two interesting peculiarities : viz. (1) The Epistles of S. Paul are numbered continuously throughout as if they formed but one book. (2) Whoever invented this division had the Epistle to the Hebrews in his copy (as is shown by the numbers of the Sections in the margin) placed between the Epistles to the Galatians and

Ephesians. Though in Cod. B itself the Epistle in question stands next after 2 Thess., yet the numbering of its Sections runs on continuously from the Epistle to the Galatians. The last Section of the Epistle to the Galatians is numbered 58; the first of the Epistle to the Hebrews is 59; while the first of the Epistle to the Ephesians is 70. The end of the Epistle to the Hebrews is lost; but there can be no reasonable doubt that the numbering of the Sections from it to the Epistle to the Ephesians would be consecutive.

2. Another system, later than the last, is also found in Cod. B. In the Acts, the Sections are shorter, and therefore more numerous; in the Epistles the opposite is the case. In this system the Pauline, as well as the Catholic Epistles, are divided independently. The first forty-two of the Sections in the Acts of the Apostles are noted in the margin of Cod. B by a hand almost as old as the original scribe; but with some want of care apparently, since there are five slight omissions and variations.
3. The *κεφάλαια*, sometimes, but wrongly, attributed to Euthalius, analogous to the *τίτλοι* of the Gospels, and accompanied like them by short headings or summaries of contents. They were probably only introduced into common use by Euthalius. There is no trace of them in Codd. A or C.
4. Another division of the Acts and Pauline Epistles into *ἀναγνώσεις* or *ἀναγνώσματα* (lessons), also attributed to Euthalius.

III. The APOCALYPSE was divided at the end of the fifth century by Andreas, Archbishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, into twenty-four *λόγοι*, each *λόγος* being subdivided into three *κεφάλαια*.

Important evidence is sometimes gained from attending

to the presence or absence of such extra-textual marks as these. For instance, the peculiarity in the Vatican numbering of the Sections of the Epistles noticed above, gives proof of a valuable and unconscious kind that the Epistle to the Hebrews was looked upon in very early times as being certainly by S. Paul. Again, in two passages, viz. S. Luke xxii. 43, 44, where the sum of the evidence is decidedly in favour of retaining the disputed clause, and S. Mark xv. 28, where the evidence is for rejection, the testimony of the Sections and Canons of Eusebius is in favour of both. In the first case, the clause has a special number, and is placed in the tenth Canon, which contains passages peculiar to the several Gospels; in the second case, the clause, likewise specially numbered, is assigned to the eighth Canon, which contains passages common to S. Mark and S. Luke.

§ 5. *An Account of Codd. N and B.*

The reader should consult Dr. Scrivener's Introduction, or some other such authority, for an account of the chief MSS. quoted in critical editions of the New Testament. We will however, as an illustration of many points of criticism, proceed to give a somewhat detailed account of the two great manuscripts N and B. Our authorities are chiefly Dr. Scrivener's collation of the Cod. Sinait., published with a Critical Introduction in 1864, and the Prolegomena to Tischendorf's smaller editions of these manuscripts.

(i) *Codex Sinaiticus (N).*

In 1844, Tischendorf, travelling under the patronage of Frederick Augustus, King of Saxony, and being at the Monastery of S. Catherine, Mount Sinai, saw some vellum leaves of a manuscript, apparently very ancient, in a basketful of papers intended for the stove. He picked out forty-three leaves, which he obtained for the asking. They contained

portions of the Septuagint version, viz. parts of 1 Chron. and Jeremiah, with the whole of Nehemiah and Esther. The monks however, having been informed that they belonged to a MS. of probably the fourth century, concealed the remainder of the MS., and Tischendorf could get nothing more from them for that time. These forty-three leaves he brought to Europe, and published with the title of Codex Friderico-Augustanus.

He was again at S. Catherine's in 1853, but could gain no further tidings of the MS. But in 1859 he went for the third time to the East under the patronage of the Emperor of Russia; and one day, being once more at the Convent, the steward showed him as a curiosity a MS. which he had long kept in his cell. It turned out to be the missing treasure, which he was now allowed to examine at leisure, and which he found to contain, besides a great deal of the Old Testament, the whole of the New Testament, the Epistle of Barnabas entire, of which the first four and a half chapters had been hitherto known in a Latin translation only, and a large fragment of the Shepherd of Hermas in the original Greek, which was before extant as a whole only in the Latin. He soon recognized its immense value; and, after studying it for a while at Cairo, he suggested to the community that they should present it to the Emperor of Russia, the great patron of the Greek Church. It is now at St. Petersburg.

The manuscript is written on very fine vellum. The size of the pages, notwithstanding mutilation by the binders, is still $13\frac{1}{2} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The sheets, forming only two leaves each, and each requiring the skin of a single animal, are arranged in gatherings, or quires, of four (*quaterniones*). Now we know that Eusebius was ordered by the Emperor Constantine ^d (A.D. 331) to procure fifty copies of the Scriptures, handsomely got up and well written, for the churches

^d Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. iv. c. 36, 37.

in his new city of Constantinople. It has been suggested, with some show of plausibility, that the Cod. Sinait., and even Cod. B too, may possibly belong to these very fifty copies^o.

The text on each page is arranged in *four* columns. This is supposed to be in imitation of the papyrus rolls, and is an unique arrangement so far as we know. Cod. B has three columns on a page.

The writing is in plain, somewhat square, uncials: without spaces between the words, or breathings (except in one place, Gal. v. 21), or accents, or iota *post-* or *sub-*script: there are very few marks of punctuation, but part of a line is often left blank at the end of a sentence.

It must have been copied line for line from some other MS., since omissions of exactly the number of letters that would complete a line are found, and that in two ways: viz. sometimes as if a line were dropped accidentally, and sometimes as if the eye of the scribe wandered from the middle of one line to the middle of the next line below. Instances of the error *homoioteleuton* are numerous; 115 occurring in the New Testament portion alone.

Tischendorf thinks that four scribes were engaged altogether on the manuscript, but that two only of these executed any portion of the New Testament. One of these uses a particular mark in the margin (>) to indicate quotations from the Old Testament. This is the scribe who, as we shall see presently, was also the scribe of the Vatican MS. (B).

^o The age of both the MSS. would admit of it. The question in part depends on the meaning of the words *τριὰ καὶ τετραὰ*, which Eusebius uses in speaking (l.c.) of the copies which he sent. If these rather rare words mean that the sheets of the books were arranged 'in gatherings of three and four,' this would suit the case of A but not of B, whose gatherings consist of five sheets. If, however, they were 'written in three and four columns,' or again 'sent in parcels of three and four together,' this might apply equally to both MSS. All three renderings have been suggested. Anyhow, the matter is too uncertain to found any important conclusion upon.

His work consisted of twelve pages, or six conjugate leaves—three pairs out of three distinct gatherings. It is very probable therefore that these are ‘cancels,’ viz. leaves which for some reason or other were substituted for the leaves originally written by the other scribe.

The same critic assigns the numerous corrections, from those by the original scribes themselves down to three made by some hand in the twelfth century, to as many as twelve correctors; and thinks that the scribe who used the sign (>), mentioned in the last paragraph, performed the office of *διορθωτής*. In the eighth century the ink had become so faded that it was necessary to retrace the whole of the writing throughout the manuscript.

It has been already mentioned that the division into *τίτλοι* is wanting, but that the Ammonian Sections are marked; and that in the Acts there is a division which is found besides only in Cod. B.

The passage S. Mark xvi. 9–20 is wanting; but this leaf is one of the cancels just spoken of, and the scribe appears to be conscious of an omission; for, after *ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ* comes a flourish such as nowhere else marks the end of a book; and the writing of this column is more spread out than the rest, as if purposely to fill up space. In Eph. i. 1, the words *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* are wanting, *prima manu*, being added by a much later hand. The episode S. John vii. 53–viii. 11 is wanting, no gap or sign of omission being made by the scribe. The Epistles of S. Paul precede the Acts, a peculiarity observed only in four other MSS., and those cursives. The Epistle to the Hebrews has the position usual in the oldest MSS., viz. after 2 Thess. and before the Pastoral Epistles.

The arguments for determining its date are such as follow:—

1. The beauty of the vellum.
2. The shape of the letters.

3. Absence of punctuation.
4. Absence of initial letters larger than the rest.
5. Arrangement of four columns on a page.
6. The extreme simplicity of the titles of the books, which exceeds that of all other known MSS.: e.g. *κατα Μαθθαιον*, without *εὐαγγελιον*; *πραξεις*, without *ἀποστολων*; *προς Ῥωμαίους*, without *ἐπιστολη*.
7. The fact above mentioned of the ink having so faded by the eighth century that the whole MS. had to be inked over again.

All these points are arguments for great antiquity.

8. But further, the absence of the *τίτλοι*, which came into general use in the fifth century; and
9. The presence of the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas, written exactly in the same way as the rest of the volume, would lead us to place it at least as early as the fourth century; for these two books belong to the so-called *ἀντιλεγόμενα* (*disputed* books), which were not definitely excluded from the Canon, but were read publicly, until towards the close of the fourth century.
10. Yet, on the other hand, the presence of the Eusebian Canons by a contemporary hand will not allow it to be dated earlier than about the middle of that century.

The student should take notice that every one of these arguments is independent of any *internal* considerations of the character of the text, peculiar readings, and so forth.

(ii) *Codex Vaticanus* (B). Vat. 1209.

A special interest has been attached to the great Vatican manuscript, apart from its high value and antiquity, owing to the difficulty which the jealousy of the Papal government has always thrown in the way of strangers, however competent, who wished to examine it.

The MS. appears to have been in the Vatican Library

almost from the establishment of that library by Pope Nicholas V (d. 1455); but it is first distinctly heard of in the correspondence of Sepulveda with Erasmus in 1534.

The first regular collation of it was made by Bartolucci, then librarian, in 1669; but was not used by any one before Scholz (1820-1852), and Muralt (1844). The second and third collations, known as Bentley's, were made at his request by Mico and Rulotta, two Roman Abbati, circ. 1720-1730. The next is that of Birch of Copenhagen (1780-1790). All these were more or less inaccurate. After this there was no pretence of a regular collation. Hug saw and commented on the MS. when it was at Paris in 1810, but did not collate it. Tischendorf in 1842, Dr. Tregelles in 1845-6, Dean Alford and Mr. Burgon in 1861, Mr. Cure in 1862, all had glimpses of it, and examined certain readings. The editions of Cardinal Mai and Vercellone had appeared in 1858-9; and, inaccurate as they were, added much to our knowledge. It is no small benefit that they gave occasion for the masterly preface of Professors Kuenen and Cobet (of Leyden) in their transcript of the codex ^f.

Tischendorf had an opportunity of making a fuller examination of it in 1866. At first he had obtained leave to collate the codex, but not to publish a facsimile edition, as he wished. However, after he had been at work on it for ten days at the rate of three hours a day, which was all the time allowed, his earnestness aroused jealousy, and further access was refused him. Upon further application, and by the assistance of Signor Vercellone, he was at last allowed to consult the MS. again for all doubtful readings, but not thoroughly to collate it: and, making the best use he could of this opportunity, in forty-two hours' work, *including the*

^f Novum Testamentum ad fidem Codicis Vaticani ediderunt A. Kuenen, Theol. in Acad. Lugduno-Batava Prof., et C. G. Cobet, Litt. Human. in Acad. Lugduno-Batava Prof. 1860.

thirty hours already mentioned, he collated fully the first three Gospels, copied in facsimile about twenty pages, and collated all doubtful passages through the New Testament. From this examination he was able to form some conclusions on various palæographic details.

Since that time a facsimile edition, worked from the types which Tischendorf had had cast at Leipsic for his edition of the Sinaitic MS., has issued from the Roman press. The writing of the two MSS. is so nearly alike that this is a fair representation. This edition, though not absolutely accurate, supplies much additional help: and on the whole, from this, together with Tischendorf's labours and the previous collations, we have a tolerably complete knowledge of all the readings of this important MS., and of its history, so far as a MS. can be made to tell its own history.

It is written on very fine thin vellum, in uncial characters at once bold and delicate, on the whole resembling those of $\aleph$ very closely, but rather smaller. The size of the pages too is less than in that manuscript, but they are of very similar proportions. The writing is arranged in three columns to a page; the initial letters are no larger than the rest; the ink is of a reddish-brown colour. The accents and breathings, which appear throughout the volume, have been added by a later hand than the original scribe; but there are some particular marks due to him, e.g. the marks of quotation ($>>$), a small line interposed at the beginning of a section, the apostrophus ('), and a punctuation. The sheets are arranged in quires of five (*quiniones*), not in *terniones* or *quaterniones*. The writing has been traced over afresh by a later hand throughout the MS., except where some letters are purposely passed over as erroneous. This, as in the case of Cod. $\aleph$, would only have been done when the original ink had faded from age.

As to the contents of the codex, the latter part of the

Epistle to the Hebrews, the Pastoral Epistles, and the Apocalypse are wanting. This, however, is due simply to mutilation. The MS. breaks off at Heb. ix. 14 in the middle of the word *καθαριεῖ*. The passage S. John vii. 53–viii. 11 is omitted without any gap or sign of omission. The words *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* (Eph. i. 1) are wanting, just as in Cod. *κ*. The conclusion of S. Mark's Gospel is omitted; but the scribe, contrary to his usual custom, leaves a whole column blank before the commencement of the next book, as if aware of an omission.

We have already spoken of the information given by the numbering of the sections in the Epistles (see p. 35); and of the peculiar division of the Gospels which this MS. possesses in place of the *τίτλοι* and Ammonian Sections (see p. 32).

There appear to have been only three correctors whose readings are of any importance:—

1. The original scribe made corrections of some slips in the course of transcription, besides adding, probably from the copy before him, some various readings in the margin, distinguished by a peculiar mark (*ς*).
2. The *διορθωτής* introduced some readings from an apparently independent exemplar.
3. A third hand, when the writing had faded from age, inked over the whole, added the accents and breathings, and corrected it throughout by a copy of his own time. That the accents are due to this corrector is evident from the fact that where he omitted to ink over the letters or syllables, as he frequently did by way of correction, the accents are not inserted. He imitates for the most part the writing of the original where he adds anything; yet in some places, where he was pressed for room, he uses forms of letters and abbreviations that belong in Tischendorf's and Dr. Hort's judgment to the tenth and eleventh centuries. Some,

however, would place him two centuries earlier. It is certain that the corrector who uses these abbreviations is the person who retraced the faded writing, because occasionally an abbreviation occurs in a correction *along with an omission to ink over some of the letters*: e.g. S. Matt. xvi. 19, for *δωσω σοι τας κλειδας* (the original reading) he wishes to substitute the reading found in the Textus Receptus, *και δωσω σοι τας κλεις*. He effects this by inserting the abbreviation *Ϛ* before *δωσω*, omitting to ink over the syllable *-δας*, and writing *ς* in the late cursive form, instead of the uncial form, above it. Tischendorf considers the text from which he took his corrections to be destitute of all the characteristics of very ancient codices.

There are a few unimportant additions by other hands, e.g.—

The subscriptions to S. Paul's Epistles are in uncial writing of about the sixth century.

The coloured initial letters belong apparently to the tenth or eleventh centuries.

There are sundry marginal notes, e.g. *ἀρχη, τέλος, ὑπερβα*, &c., which perhaps indicate that the MS. was at some time used for public reading.

Many of the arguments for the age of this MS. are the same, or nearly so, as those for the age of the Cod. Sinaiticus. It is assigned without hesitation to the fourth century.

The next point which claims our attention however, and which is extremely interesting if true, is the connection which Tischendorf discovered between these two great MSS. The force of some of his arguments will be best appreciated by those who have an opportunity of working carefully through them in detail; based as they are in part *upon a multitude of minute points*, of which only an instance

or two can be given here by way of specimens. His conclusion, however, is now scarcely doubted by competent critics.

Certain general points of resemblance between these MSS. have been already noticed incidentally; but a minute inspection brings others to light.

It has been asserted that the first scribe of B used no punctuation. This seems to be a mistake. It is true that the points have often faded, so as to be visible only to practised eyes; but in some places within a space may be seen the points of the first scribe side by side with those of the restorer, proving the fact. He was, however, irregular in his system, sometimes using a space of about one letter's breadth or less, sometimes a dot without a space, sometimes both, sometimes neither. The use of a space in the middle of a line without a dot is a noticeable peculiarity of his; so is the use of a double point, like our colon (:), at the end of a book. Now here an interesting question arises. It is shown that four hands were engaged in transcribing Cod. $\aleph$: of whom one, denominated D by Tischendorf, executed six sheets (see above, p. 39) of the New Testament, the Books of Judith, Tobit, and part of 1 Maccabees; besides adding the inscriptions and two of the subscriptions to the books, and the titles of the pages; and correcting the work of his associates. Now, besides the general resemblance of Cod. B to Cod. $\aleph$ above alluded to, we find that Cod. B bears a far more striking resemblance to those parts of Cod. $\aleph$ which were executed by the scribe in question, than to the rest. For instance, (1) these particular parts of Cod. $\aleph$ have these two peculiarities in punctuation. (2) They have also a very peculiar form of the letter Ξ . (3) There are some arbitrary signs and arabesques in Cod. B. in vermilion paint, which resemble one at the end of S. Mark's Gospel in Cod. $\aleph$ written by the scribe D, and one at the end of the Apocalypse.

of which D wrote the beginning. (4) There is great similarity in the use of certain contractions. (5) There are similar 'itacisms,' e.g. generally Cod. $\aleph$ has ϵ for α , except in D's portion, where the opposite is the case: Cod. B has α for ϵ constantly. Again, Cod. $\aleph$ has $\iota\omega\alpha\nu\eta\varsigma$, except in D's portion, where we find $\iota\omega\alpha\nu\eta\varsigma$; and in one place just after D's portion is finished, where his fellow-scribe writes $\iota\omega\alpha\nu\eta\varsigma$ once, and then falls back into the other spelling: Cod. B has $\iota\omega\alpha\nu\eta\varsigma$ throughout. These are samples of arguments which, taken together, make it seem not unlikely that the Sinaitic scribe D was also the transcriber of Cod. B. If this be so, a very interesting relation would be established between the two MSS.; and one not only interesting but important. For in the first place they are evidently transcribed from different originals, since their texts differ in many places: if therefore it be true that they both were written in the fourth century, their agreement carries us back to a text of still higher antiquity. But this is not all. Cod. $\aleph$ was corrected throughout by two correctors, coeval with the original scribe, and using different exemplars: it really therefore supplies us with the evidence of three MSS., all older than itself, and not improbably considerably older; for of course an old and standard copy would probably be used, in preference to one more recent, for purposes of correction. And Cod. B, as stated before (pp. 16, 43), has been corrected throughout by one contemporary hand, and therefore supplies us with the evidence of two older MSS. than itself. The two codices together therefore supply us with the evidence of five MSS. of earlier date than the middle of the fourth century; whose convergence of course carries us back to a text of very early date.

CHAPTER IV.

ON VERSIONS, AND THE CHIEF VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

§ 1. *On the nature and value of the evidence given by Versions.*

By a *Version* is meant, as has been already said, a translation into some other language than the original. In the case of the New Testament the Greek text has undergone this process of translation sooner or later into the language of almost every people that has been Christianized; but not all of these versions are of critical value. A version like our English version, for instance, may be very admirable, and for the time when it was made a very masterpiece of rendering, and yet possess no value for a critic of the Greek text.

The older versions have been transmitted to us in manuscript, just as the Greek original has been. In some languages we possess large numbers, very diverse in age and character and value; in others the total number is very scanty. These texts are liable to similar casualties of transmission as the Greek text; but the process of deterioration could scarcely ever affect documents in different languages, in the same passages, in precisely the same way. Hence if an ancient version accords with the early Greek MSS. in some particular reading, we have at least an important proof of the early prevalence of that reading. If a second version support the reading in question, the weight of evidence in its favour becomes enormously greater.

On such points as the omission of words and clauses, versions give as clear evidence as the original Greek MSS. do; and it is quite possible that even where they are not precisely exact in their renderings they may be far from misleading; nay, they *may* even indicate the true reading, since it may be evident how the error arose: e.g. when in the Æthiopic version there is found (1 Cor. xii. 28) 'an ear,' it is clear that the translator, not very well acquainted with Greek, confused *οὐς* with *οὐρ*; and from the very impossibility of his translation we infer that he must have read *οὐρ*. There are other mistranslations, which would not long mislead the critic, in the same version: e.g. in S. Matt. iv. 13, it seems as if the translator supposed *ὁπίως* to be connected with *ὅπος*; and in Rom. vii. 11, *ἐξενάρησε* seems to have been read for *ἐξηπάτησε*. So in our English version we find (Heb. x. 23), 'Let us hold fast the profession of our faith,' where there is not a single MS. authority for the word '*faith*'; but the compositor's eye in the first edition perhaps rested upon the word 'faithful' in the line immediately below; so it crept in accidentally, and has never been corrected. The true reading is '*hope*.'

The earliest Latin versions were so literal that they even give evidence on the order of the words; the Greek order being retained even where it is not in accordance with the genius of the vernacular. Some Greek idioms too, such as a genitive absolute for the ablative, are retained.

When we add that the earliest Latin and Syriac versions were without doubt made not later than the second century and the two Egyptian versions but little, if at all, later, it will be seen that their evidence on certain points is not inferior in value, under properly defined conditions, to that of the earliest Greek MSS.

It was long before the critical value of versions was appreciated. The study of them has been in general too

subordinate to that of the Greek text, even where attention has been paid to them. But in some cases, and pre-eminently in the case of the Latin versions, there is a grand field for independent criticism, which is only now beginning to be systematically explored.

In giving a short account of all the versions which have a critical value, it is convenient to take the Latin versions first; because some points in their early history are known for certain, which are matters for conjecture, though of conjecture little short of certainty, in the history of the Syriac, the next most important, versions. There is a special interest too for us in the Latin, because the Vulgate was for centuries the Bible of the West: our Reformers were trained upon it; and our Prayer-book version of the Psalms is founded upon S. Jerome's 'Gallican' Psalter.

§ 2. *The Latin Versions.*

Before the time of S. Jerome, and dating from an unknown but certainly very early period, there existed Latin translations of almost all parts of the Old and New Testaments. The Latinity is strange and uncouth, often presenting unusual forms of words and expressions; not seldom running word for word parallel with the Greek original, and even sometimes keeping the Greek construction. The origin of these translations is veiled in obscurity. If we took literally expressions found in Tertullian, S. Ambrose, Hilary of Poitiers, and (above all) S. Augustine, we should naturally conclude that they were the work of various hands; perhaps the fruit of private devotion in the first place, before they were adopted into church use.

The recent history of critical opinion regarding them is not a little remarkable. In the years 1832, 1833 the late Cardinal Wiseman propounded a theory in *Two letters on some parts of the controversy concerning 1 John v. 7, in a*

periodical called the 'Catholic Magazine,' and since republished in his collected *Essays on various subjects* (1853), to the effect that the old Latin version had its origin in Africa; that the expressions in the writers above alluded to refer to emendations of this one old text, not to independent translations; and that in particular one such emended text, more polished and correct than the rest, found acceptance in Italy, and was thence called *Itala*. This theory was based upon an elaborate comparison of the language (style, syntax, formation of words, &c.), with the extant Latin writings of African Fathers, especially Tertullian and Arnobius, and soon obtained the adhesion of a large number of eminent critics, both on the continent and in England. A more wide and searching criticism has, however, been recently applied, and the whole subject of the Latin versions has been studied more deeply, with the result in this case that the theory, ingenious as it is, has been partially disproved; and the statements of the older writers are again accepted in their *prima facie* sense. It was necessary for the validity of Cardinal Wiseman's arguments that he should have shown not only that the strange forms of the old Latin Version occurred in African writers, but that they were peculiar to those writers; whereas, by taking a wider survey of authors, a large number of parallel illustrations may be^a produced, not only from the old Latin translations of Hermas and Irenæus, but from secular writers, such as Plautus, Pliny, Quintilian, Velleius Paterculus, and Aulus Gellius: clearly proving that many of the forms in question are not 'Africanisms,' but that they were current pretty widely in non-classical or post-classical Latin.

There is much yet to be done in elucidating the difficult questions which arise with regard to these ante-Hieronymian

^a See e.g. Gams 'Kirchen-geschichte von Spanien, vol. i. pp. 87-101. (Regensburg, 1862.)

texts. Perhaps all that can at present be stated with certainty is that there is no single type of text among them, but that there seem to be indications of several groups. Westcott and Hort, followed by Professor John Wordsworth, recognise three groups of Old Latin MSS, each representing a distinctive type of text; (1) the *African*, agreeing generally with the quotations in Tertullian and Cyprian; (2) the *European*, which may have been based upon the African, or (perhaps more probably) was an independent version; (3) The *Italian*, probably the 'Itala' of S. Augustine, which was evidently formed from the European type, revised with the aid of later Greek MSS. The text thus represented appears to be in an intermediate stage between that of the earliest and the late Greek MSS. while the other texts of the *Vetus Latina* often approximate to D and the Curetonian Syriac in their peculiar features. There seem to be grounds for believing that Britain, i. e. Ireland, can lay claim to an independent recension, of which Scotland, Ireland, North England, and Wales enjoyed the fruit^b. There was also perhaps a Gallican recension, nearly allied to the British in its readings.

Where it is necessary, for convenience' sake, to use one common term of reference in the following pages, the designation *Old Latin*, or '*Vetus Latina*' is used, as less open to confusion than '*Itala*,' or '*Vetus Itala*,' which are often found. The term '*Itala*' being reserved for the Italic version to which S. Augustine particularly refers^c.

All the books of our New Testament Canon appear to have been current in these texts, except perhaps 2 S. Peter,

^b For some interesting notices, see Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* relating to Great Britain and Ireland, vol. i. App. G, pp. 170-174.

^c S. Augustine (de Doctr. Christ. ii. 15), speaking of the various current texts of his time, says, 'in ipsis interpretationibus Itala ceteris præferatur; nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ.'

of which no fragments have been hitherto discovered. The Gospels are placed in the order of S. Matthew, S. John, S. Luke, and S. Mark.

By the end of the fourth century there was so much variation in the existing texts, that a formal revision seemed necessary; and S. Jerome was requested by Pope Damasus to undertake the task. The greater part of S. Jerome's critical labours were spent upon the Old Testament; it is therefore beyond the scope of the present work to say much about them. In the course of these labours his views on several points connected with revision, and among others on the amount of change necessary to be introduced, underwent considerable modification. The emendation of the New Testament occupied his attention first, and is not therefore the result of his most mature judgment. Seeing that he was educated at Rome, and that he was undertaking the work at the request of the Roman Pontiff, it would be natural that he should take a version already current at Rome for the groundwork of his labour. He probably did take the '*Itala*.' In order to avoid offending the prejudices of persons accustomed to an established phraseology he made as few alterations as possible; only correcting obvious errors, and somewhat improving the latinity. The traces of his work are most frequent in the Gospels, which indeed, from being the most used part of the New Testament, were most often transcribed, and had therefore suffered most deterioration. The rest of the New Testament he only revised cursorily.

Such a work as the revision of an established Bible is sure not to be popular. Two centuries elapsed before S. Jerome's revision came generally into use. Meanwhile copies of the old ante-Hieronymian versions were current, the text still suffering gradually in the process of transcription. The new Vulgate of S. Jerome was not free from the same chances; and the consequence was again so much uncer-

tainty, that in the eighth century further revision was necessary. This was attempted by Alcuin at Charlemagne's desire. He seems to have used good Latin texts for his work, but without having any recourse to Greek MSS. During several succeeding centuries there were more isolated attempts at revision; and lists of corrections (*correctoria*) were drawn up at different times. The last authoritative revisions were that of Sixtus V, published in 1590; and a second, put forth two years later, which was rendered necessary by the arbitrary corrections introduced into the former Sixtine edition by that Pope himself, and which is known as the Clementine Vulgate, from having been issued under Pope Clement VIII. This last is the modern 'authorized' Vulgate. It is therefore a somewhat composite work in respect of its readings, but is substantially S. Jerome's revision.

For our present purpose we have only to do with the earlier stages of this version. From what has been said it will be seen that the critical evidence of the Latin versions is manifold: for there are (1) *the Corrections of S. Jerome*, which being of the fourth century give us an independent witness of nearly the same age as our oldest existing Greek MSS.; (2) the readings of the various *Old Latin* groups, which witness to still earlier texts, not indeed free from corruption, but valuable from their antiquity, and because (as has been already pointed out) the very corruptions follow different courses from those of the Greek codices, and therefore can often be made to give useful information. They give evidence moreover not only as to *readings*, but as to the *localities* in which the readings were current.

The subject has been but partially elucidated as yet. Each year sees fresh facts discovered, and their significance determined. It is no longer allowable to speak of the reading of the *Old Latin*, or *Vetus Latina*, as if it were a single

version, giving one decisive verdict. We have to think which group of Old Latin MSS. has supplied the particular reading we may be discussing, while additional difficulty is imported by the embarrassing fact that few codices have a pure text of any one type.

The chief codices in each group of the Old Latin are:—

African	Cod. Palatinus (iv. or v.)	<i>e</i>
„ ... „	„ Bobbiensis (iv. or v.)	<i>k</i>
European ...	Cod. Vercellensis (iv.)	<i>a</i>
„ ... „	„ Veronensis (iv. or v.)	<i>b</i>
„ ... „	„ Colbertinus (xi.)	<i>c</i>
„ ... „	„ Claromontanus (iv. or v.) ...	<i>h</i>
„ ... „	„ Vindobonensis (v. or vi.)	<i>i</i>
Italian	Cod. Brixianus (xi.)	<i>f</i>
„ ... „	„ Monacensis (vi.)	<i>q</i>

The two most accurate codices of S. Jerome's Vulgate are *Cod. Amiatinus* and *Cod. Fuldensis*. The text of the former is reprinted in Dr. Tregelles' edition of the Greek Testament; the latter in Lachmann's larger edition. Both are of the sixth century.

‘[The student will find much information in the article ‘Vulgate’ in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, by Professor Westcott.]

§ 3. *The Syriac Versions.*

Our distinct knowledge of the existence of early Latin versions prior to S. Jerome's revision in the fourth century, is of the highest importance: for the general aspect and textual characteristics of two of the Syriac versions, the Curetonian and the Peshito, so closely resemble those of the *Vetus Latina* and *Vulgate* respectively, that the suggestion is very obvious that they bear a similar mutual relation to each other; though we do not know this as a historical fact.

All that we possess of the version called the Curetonian

Syriac is contained in a single manuscript of the fifth century, brought by Archdeacon Tattam in 1842 from one of the Nitrian monasteries. It consists of fragments of the four Gospels. It takes its name from having been brought into notice by Dr. Cureton, who observed that its text differed from that of the ordinary Peshito, and published it in 1858. Three more fragments have been discovered and published since. The text is ruder than that of the Peshito, and has many interpolations, sometimes in common with Cod. D, sometimes unsupported by other authority; but in many characteristic readings it is in remarkable agreement with the oldest witnesses. It often exhibits readings which are found in quotations by the early writers, such as Aphraates. It gives the account of the Bloody Sweat (Luke xxii.) which S. Ephrem and Isaac of Antioch give, but which is wanting in the Peshito: and so on.

The Gospels stand in the order SS. Matthew, Mark, John, Luke; and the portions of each remaining are:—

S. Matthew i. 1—viii. 22; x. 32—xxiii. 25.

S. Mark xvi. 17—20.

S. John i. 1—42; iii. 6—vii. 37; vii.^d 37—viii. 19; xiv. 10—12, 16—18, 19—23, 26—29.

S. Luke ii. 48—iii. 16; vii. 33—xv. 21; xv. 22—xvi. 12; xvii. 1—23; xviii. 24—xxiv. 44.

A remarkable peculiarity is that in the Genealogy given by S. Matthew are inserted the names of the three kings omitted in the common text, viz. Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah.

The *Peshito*, which is sometimes called the Syriac Vulgate^e, appears, from its containing neither the disputed Catholic Epistles^f nor the Apocalypse, to belong to a period

^d Without however the *Pericope Adulteræ*.

^e It is frequently thus referred to by Westcott and Hort in their 'Notes on Select Readings.'

^f *I. e.* 2 S. Peter, 2 and 3 S. John, and S. Jude.

anterior to the fourth century, when those Epistles were formally received into the Canon. The same is shown by the fact that all the sects into which the Syrian Church was separated in the fourth and fifth centuries alike use it. It also exhibits readings of undoubtedly high antiquity. Seeing that no other Syriac text with any claim to antiquity was known to exist until so recently, there is no wonder that the idea should have gained currency that this is the Syriac version to which Eusebius refers as existing in the second century (Eus. H. E. iv. 22). But when a close examination shows undoubted signs of assimilation to a later type of text, analogous to those displayed in the Cod. Brixianus of the Latin MSS., and such as began to be current about the fourth century, the suggestion is a natural one that the Peshito is a recension of an older text, of which we have probably a specimen in the Curetonian Syriac. As long ago as 1761 it had been asserted by Dr. Gloucester Ridley that the Peshito, as now known, was the gradually formed product of several successive revisions. This hypothesis was repeated by Griesbach. And now, since the discovery of the Curetonian, various critics of note have expressed their belief that in that version we have a representative of an earlier state of the text. Tischendorf, in the short description of his Apparatus Criticus, prefixed to his eighth edition, assigns the Curetonian to the middle, the Peshito to the end, of the second century: others would assign the Peshito to the end of the third or beginning of the fourth.

The Curetonian and the Peshito are not the only Syriac versions. A version was made at Hierapolis in Eastern Syria (A.D. 508) by Polycarp, a Chorepiscopus, at the instance of Philoxenus, the Bishop of Hierapolis, from whom it has received the name by which it is commonly known, the *Philoxenian*. Some quotations in Syrian writers are all that remain to us of this version in its original state, unless

perhaps one MS. of the Gospels at Florence (see Westcott on the Canon, p. 210 n.), and one MS. in the Bodleian, containing the Acts and all seven of the Catholic Epistles (see Horne and Tregelles' *Introd.* pp. 278, 279) exhibit it.

Enough is not known of the subject to speak with certainty; but it is asserted that the text of these two MSS. differs from that of the version of which we have next to speak, just as an unrevised text would differ from a revised text; that is to say, they are said to have a close *general* resemblance to this version, but to differ from it just in those parts where their text might be thought capable of improvement.

The version which has come down to us, and which is sometimes cited as the Philoxenian, sometimes as the *Harclean*, is a revision of the Philoxenian properly so called, just mentioned. This revision was made at Alexandria (A.D. 616) by Thomas of Harkel, also Bishop of Hierapolis. There are several codices of the Gospels, but only one codex containing other portions of the New Testament is known to exist. This one is in New College Library, Oxford. It is noticeable because it includes all the seven Catholic Epistles; but, as it is mutilated at the end, it is impossible to say whether it ever contained the Apocalypse. The characteristic feature of this version is its slavish adherence to the Greek: word stands over against word, and particle for particle, even to the utter destruction of the Syriac idiom; so that it is difficult to conceive that it was ever intended for general use. At the same time this very fact gives it a special critical value; for it becomes an admirable witness to the state of the current Greek text at the time when it was made (seventh century); and it shows that this text had now undergone a considerable change in its character. There is another point of great value to be remarked, namely, that there are various readings from one, two, and sometimes three, Greek MSS. added in

the margin; the very Greek words being occasionally given. These readings are clearly taken from texts of a much earlier type. Hence the Harclean *text* and *margin* are always cited separately. The text of the Acts has interpolations resembling those of Cod. D. Neither the Peshito nor the Harclean contains the passage S. John vii. 53—viii. 11. Ridley's Cod. Barsalibæi has the passage, but it is clearly an addition by a later hand. The Curetopian MS. is defective at that part.

The so-called *Jerusalem-Syriac* is the only other Syriac version that is cited in critical editions. It is found in one partial Lectionary of the Gospels in the Vatican Library, which, according to a subscription attached to it, was written at Antioch in 1031 A.D., and has now been edited by Count Francis Miniscalchi Erizzo. Perhaps also a Palimpsest Fragment, brought by Tischendorf from the East and now at St. Petersburg, but which has not yet been fully collated, is a further example. The version appears to have been made from the Greek, in the sixth century according to Adler, in the fifth according to Tischendorf. It is an independent version, rude and peculiar in style. Its readings are said by Scrivener to resemble those of Codd. B, D. The name is given to it because its grammatical forms have often more affinity with the Chaldee than with the Syriac, and many of its words may be 'illustrated from the Chaldee portion of the Old Testament, from the Jerusalem Targum, or the Talmud.' It contains S. John vii. 53—viii. 11.

Besides these there is the so-called *Karkaphensian* version. The chief MS. in which this supposed version was found is in the Vatican. The name, according to Dr. Bickell, is derived from the monastery of Carcaphtha, where it was written. His judgment of it is (*Conspectus rei Syrorum literariæ*, p. 9), 'Nihil aliud est quam correctorium biblicum': and he goes on to say that it contains only those passages of the Old and New Testaments in the Peshito, and of the New Testament in

the Harclean Version, which presented variation of reading, or some ambiguity in meaning: so that it is called 'liber nominum et lectionum.' Hence it appears to be not so much a dialect variety as an explanatory recension of the ordinary Syriac. This agrees on the whole with the account in Scrivener's Introduction, though he gives a slightly different explanation of the name. This version is not quoted for critical purposes.

§ 4. *The Egyptian Versions.*

There are three versions of the New Testament in dialects of the Egyptian language; viz. the *Memphitic*, the *Thebaic*, and the *Bashmuric*. The first two only of these are of critical value; the last-mentioned being merely an adaptation of the Thebaic version in the dialect apparently of a wild race of herdsmen who lived in the Delta of the Nile.

The Memphitic and Thebaic languages are really dialects of the old language of Egypt, spoken respectively in the Upper and Lower districts, which had Memphis and Thebes for their capital cities. Their relation to one another has been compared to that between the Attic and Ionic dialects of Greek. The term Coptic, by some critics improperly limited to the Memphitic, really includes both dialects, being properly the name of the Egyptian language as spoken by a Christian people.

The versions are independent translations, and of very high critical value. It is thought that a large portion, if not the whole, of both of them may be assigned to the second century. The *Memphitic* version is said to be a faithful one and very important to the textual critic. The following is Bishop Lightfoot's judgment upon it (Scriv. Introd. p. 392): 'In point of antiquity it must yield the palm to the old Syriac and the old Latin; but, unlike them, it preserves the best text as current among the Alexandrian fathers, free from the

corruptions which prevailed so widely in the copies of the second century.' It seems to contain all the books of our present Canon, except the Apocalypse; which, though found in some MSS., is always in some way marked as separate from the rest. The order of the books of the New Testament differs from that of the Greek MSS. (p. 27): being (1) Gospels; (2) Pauline Epistles; (3) Catholic Epistles; (4) Acts. The Gospels occur in their usual order, and the Epistle to the Hebrews is placed after 2 Thess. and before 1 Tim., as in the oldest Greek MSS. (p. 29). Bishop Lightfoot enumerates thirty-two codices of the Gospels, eighteen of the rest of the Canon, and ten separate codices of the Apocalypse. Some of these, however, only contain single books, or portions of books. As to the age of the MSS. themselves, there are two fragments which perhaps belong to the fourth or fifth centuries, one of the Gospels perhaps of the tenth; but the bulk of them are not earlier than the twelfth century, while some are much later. There are also a considerable number of Lectionaries in existence.

The *Thebaic*, or Sahidic, version is said by the same authority to be rougher and less polished than the Memphitic (Scriv. Introd. p. 400); and to have preserved a very ancient text with 'a certain infusion' of those corrupt readings which characterise the so-called Western group of MSS. (p. 75). The materials are not nearly so abundant as in the case of the Memphitic, and consist of fragments, though in some cases extensive ones, which however have not yet been properly collated and collected. The Canon appears to be the same as that of the Memphitic; but the Epistle to the Hebrews stood after 2 Cor., and before that to the Galatians. Of the extant fragments several are adjudged to belong to the fourth or fifth centuries, and several more to be very old.

The Bashmuric is only useful when the Thebaic version is

wanting ; but of this version too there are very few fragments extant, viz. a portion of Isaiah, and about 330 verses belonging to S. John's Gospel and to five of the Pauline Epistles.

§ 5. *The Gothic Version.*

The Gothic version was made by Ulfilas, who was bishop of the Goths 348–388 A.D. It is therefore undoubtedly of the fourth century. It must have been extensively circulated, since traces of its use both by Eastern and Western Goths have been found in Italy and Spain. That it was translated from Greek manuscripts is certain, says Tregelles, from the manner in which the Greek constructions and the forms of compound words are imitated. As to the character of the text, Dr. Scrivener's judgment is that it approaches nearer to the received text than the Egyptian versions do ; which same fact Tregelles describes when he declares it to be what he terms 'the transition text' of the fourth century, such as is found in the Cod. Brixianus of the revised Itala.

Seven codices are known, containing parts of all the books of the New Testament, except the Acts, Epistle to the Hebrews, Catholic Epistles, and Apocalypse. They are (1) the celebrated *Codex Argenteus* at Upsala, of the fifth or early sixth centuries, in silver letters, with gold initials (which some have thought were impressed with a stamp), upon purple vellum. It contains fragments of the Gospels arranged in the 'Western' order, like the *Vetus Latina* (p. 52). (2) *Codex Carolinus*, a palimpsest containing about forty verses of the Epistle to the Romans. It is really the same codex which supplies Codd. P, Q of the Greek Gospels, and 'gue' of the *Vetus Latina*, also palimpsests ; and is of the sixth century. (3) Five other palimpsests in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, also probably of the sixth century, containing a little of the Old Testament, a few passages of the Gospels, and a good many passages of the

Pauline Epistles. All the extant fragments have been collected by Gabelentz and Loebe (Leipsic, 1843). Those of Cod. Arg. have been published separately by several editors.

§ 6. *The Æthiopic Version.*

The Æthiopic version has not yet been edited with critical care. We do not know its date: but we do know that Christianity was introduced into Æthiopia in the fourth century. It might therefore date from about that time. By some competent authorities, however, it is assigned to the sixth or seventh centuries; and its surviving codices appear to be of no earlier date than the fifteenth. The curious mistranslations that occur in it (see p. 48) show that it was made from the Greek, but evidently not by persons to whom Greek was familiar: and there are said to be interpolations from Syriac and Arabic sources. The Gospels and Epistles seem to have been the work of different hands; and the idea of a revision of the text by different Greek MSS. from those from which it was first translated is said to be suggested in this case too by the phenomena which it presents: viz. by the mixture of the Byzantine with Alexandrine readings. An edition 'by native editors' was printed in Rome and published as early as 1548-9. This was reprinted badly in Walton's Polyglott (1657); more critically by C. A. Bode at Brunswick (1753), who also fifteen years afterwards issued some special criticisms and corrections. Lastly, an edition has been issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society, in which other MSS. were made use of, but on no systematic critical principles.

§ 7. *The Armenian Version.*

This Version is known to have been made from Greek MSS. about the middle of the fifth century. But there are

many traces in it of readings introduced both from the Peshito and from the Vulgate ; which are said by some to be owing to successive revisions ; the first in the sixth century, when the Syrians and Armenians were ecclesiastically united ; the second in the thirteenth century, when the Armenian Church submitted to Rome. When we add that the MSS. of this version are for the most part recent, (*Qui sæculum decimum tertium antecedunt satis rari*, is Tischendorf's remark,) it is evident that great caution must be used in applying citations from it. There are several printed editions, of which two are commonly cited, viz. that published by Uschan (*Arm. Usc.*) at Amsterdam (1666), and that of Zohrab (*Arm. Zoh.*) published at Venice, of which the New Testament appeared in 1789, the Old Testament in 1805.

[These are the only versions that possess any considerable critical value. For more detailed information on some points the student is referred to the various articles in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, and in Kitto's Cyclopædia, as well as to chap. iii. of Scrivener's Introduction.]

CHAPTER V.

ON PATRISTIC QUOTATIONS.

THE materials in this, our third branch of evidence, are in a far less satisfactory state than in the case either of the Greek MSS., or of the Versions. This is chiefly owing to the fact that so little real critical care has been yet spent in editing the writings of the Fathers. Until this has been done it will be impossible to place implicit confidence in the alleged testimony of a Father to any particular reading, if it be inferred merely from the appearance of that reading in the common editions of his writings. It has happened not seldom that transcribers, doubtless believing they were doing a good work, have altered the words of a quotation in the work they were transcribing, to the more familiar reading of the commonly received text of their time. This will account for some of the instances where an author appears to quote the same passage of the New Testament with different readings in different parts of his writings; as is especially the case with a voluminous writer like S. Chrysostom.

That transcribers did thus alter the readings is abundantly proved in many instances by direct evidence; as when extracts are preserved from the patristic writings in some Catena or Commentary which gives the quotation in what we have *otherwise reason to believe* is the older form, while the

recently transcribed MSS. of their works present us with the reading which we find in the *Textus Receptus*. Sometimes again the embedded quotation, as it appears in the common editions, is so manifestly inconsistent with the context, as to make it clear that the author could never have given it thus.

An instance of this latter case is found in a comment of Eusebius on S. Matt. i. 19. The original reading of the Evangelist was *δειγματίσαι*, and the manifest drift of the comment is to account for his having used the simple verb, and not the compound *παρδειγματίσαι*. But the later reading is *παρδειγματίσαι*; and the transcriber of the comment, in a blundering attempt (apparently) to reconcile the comment with the reading which he was familiar with, has transposed the verb and its compound in such a way as to make absolute nonsense ^a.

In respect of the readings *ᾧς* and *θεός* (1 Tim. iii. 16) the citation from S. Chrysostom preserved in Cramer's *Catena* on the passage shows that *θεός* is an interpolation, though S. Chrysostom's authority has been quoted for the reading *θεός*; and that S. Cyril of Alexandria read *ᾧς* is proved, not only by the context, but by an express marginal note in several of the MSS. (see Tregelles on the printed Text of the New Testament, p. 227), viz. *ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις Κύριλλος ἐν τῷ ιβ' κεφαλαίῳ τῶν σχολίων φησὶν ὅς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί*.

By way of illustrating the extent of this field of evidence, it has been said that if every copy of the Greek Testament,

^a The comment runs as follows:—*εὖ γοῦν μοι καὶ τὸ μὴ θέλειν αὐτὴν δειγματίσαι εἰρῆσθαι δοκεῖ ὑπὸ τοῦ Εὐαγγελιστοῦ· οὐ γὰρ ἔφησεν μὴ θέλειν αὐτὴν δειγματίσαι, ἀλλὰ 'μὴ παρδειγματίσαι θέλων' πολλῆς οὕσης ἐν τοῦτοις διαφορᾷς· ὥς γὰρ οὐ ταῦτόν σημαίνει τὸ γράφαι καὶ τὸ παραγράφαι, καὶ τὸ λογίσασθαι καὶ τὸ παραλογίσασθαι, καὶ ψηφίσαι καὶ παραψηφίσαι· οὕτως οὔτε τὸ δειγματίσαι καὶ παρδειγματίσαι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ παρδειγματίσαι τὴν ἐπὶ κακῷ πράξαντι πάντας φανέρωσιν τε καὶ διαβολὴν ὑποβάλλει νοεῖν· ὁ τοίνυν 'Ἰωσήφ δίκαιος ὢν, καὶ μὴ θέλων αὐτὴν παρδειγματίσαι' τουτέστιν εἰς φανερόν τοις πᾶσιν ἀγαγεῖν, 'ἐβουλήθη λάθρα ἀποκρύψαι αὐτήν.' Cramer's *Catena*, vol. i. p. 12.*

manuscript and printed, had perished, and only the Patristic quotations remained, together with a copy of some one version to serve as an index whereby to arrange them, we should be able to reconstruct the whole. This however, judging from the remarks of Dr. Hort (Intro. § 125), is rather overstated.

Besides *verbatim* citations, it often happens that the Patristic writers quote the New Testament writings in a less exact way, by interweaving the words with their own, and altering the structure of the sentences to suit their own. In the writings of the Apostolic Fathers almost all the quotations are thus introduced. Such quotations are free from the chance of variation just mentioned: on the other hand, they will only furnish aid to the textual critic where the sense of the passage may vary with the alteration, and not on such delicate questions as the insertion or omission of particles, choice between different tenses of the same verb, and so on. Evidence might be gained from them as to the existence of the passage in question in copies of the author's time: on the whole, however, this looser kind of citation, together with the still more precarious class of *mere allusions*, is of more value in determining the contents of the Canon of Scripture, than in the problems set before the textual critic.

Most important of all is the help given where the writer recognises different readings of a passage, and expressly states that, while many MSS. have some particular reading or readings, the best and most accurate have another, which he gives. The existence of various readings was recognised distinctly as early as the time of Marcion^b, who was charged

^b The date of Marcion's birth is unknown. He was settled at Rome and known as a heretical teacher before A.D. 139, the date of the publication of Justin Martyr's First Apology. Nor is the time of his death more certain. Tillemont only says vaguely it was after A.D. 176. Mr. Clinton thinks he was alive as late as 194. See Smith's Dict. Biog., Art. 'Marcion.' Robertson's Ch. Hist. vol. i. pp. 43, 44.

with corrupting the text of Scripture to suit his own views. The labours of Origen (186-254) and Eusebius (264-340) for the Greek text, and of S. Jerome (died 430^c) for the Latin, were distinctly and avowedly critical. These writers had just the same variety of readings before them as is exhibited by the MSS. and versions that now exist; the greatest corruptions of the text having been introduced before the end of the second century; and they frequently appeal to certain 'accurate' or 'approved' copies, which seem to have been preserved as standards, and to which reference is also made at the end of some of the MSS. as having served for standards of revision (cf. pp. 15, 122).

The value of even the most definite Patristic citation is only corroborative. Standing by itself, any such citation might mean no more than that the writer found the passage in his own copy, or in those examined by him, in the form in which he quotes it. The moment, however, it is found to be supported by other good evidence, the writer's authority may become of immense importance. Perhaps the best illustration of what is meant will be found in the discussion of a reading, wherein a statement of S. Irenæus, a writer of the second century, holds a prominent place. The passage in question is S. Matt. i. 18; the point to be determined is whether Ἰησοῦ should stand in the text before Χριστοῦ or not. It is found in the text of every known Greek manuscript containing the passage: on the other hand, S. Irenæus appears to assert that it should not be there, and gives a reason for his statement. His words are, as given by his Latin translator (for the Greek original does not exist), '*ceterum potuerat dicere Matthæus Jesu vero generatio sic erat, sed prævidens Spiritus S. depravatores, et præmuniens contra fraudulentiam eorum, per Matthæum ait Christi autem*

^c The date of S. Jerome's birth is equally uncertain; different years, ranging from 329 to 345, have been assigned.

generatio sic erat.' In weighing the evidence on both sides, we must anticipate some statements, the reasons for which have not yet been given, but which we shall attempt to substantiate further on.

There is a variant τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ: but it may be at once dismissed, as having no important evidence in its favour.

For the reading τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ there are all existing Greek MSS. (except Cod. B, which has τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ; and *probably* D; for though the Greek text is wanting at this place, the Latin version, which is generally a slavish interpretation of the Greek, reads *Christi*). With them are the two Egyptian versions, the Peshito, Harclean and Jerusalem Syriac, the Armenian and the Æthiopic; and of Patristic writers Origen, Eusebius, and others of later date.

On the other side, for the reading τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ are all the Latin versions, including the Vetus Latina; the Curetonian Syriac; and S. Irenæus expressly, as we have seen, with later Fathers.

The only consideration which causes any real hesitation in accepting τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ on this important array of evidence is the above express explanation of S. Irenæus, together with his statement that Greek MSS. with his reading were known to him, for his evidence increases considerably the area over which we know that this reading (τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ) was current.

It is also true that the collocation of words ὁ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός seems very unlikely to be found in the New Testament. At least, if it be genuine here, this is the only passage in which it is genuine. The reading of the Textus Receptus in Acts viii. 37, 1 S. John iv. 3, and Apoc. xii. 17 being certainly spurious.

We may say also that it is more in accordance with the usual laws of the variation of MSS. that the short reading *should have been* changed into the longer one, than *vice*

versa. While such a variation as that above remarked in B. is not seldom an indication of an antecedent corruption of the text.

Hence Tregelles reads τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ unreservedly. Westcott and Hort read τοῦ δὲ [Ἰησοῦ] Χριστοῦ, admitting Ἰησοῦ, but within brackets. Tischendorf however, as also does Dr. Scrivener, supports the ordinary reading.

The age at which a writer lived must be taken into account in weighing his evidence ; the earlier being of course *cæteris paribus* the more valuable. The country where he wrote is also sometimes very important.

Sometimes, as for instance when a writer is commenting continuously on the words of a passage, an inference of some value may be drawn against words that he omits. So too, though this is still more precarious, if in a discussion on some particular doctrine, a passage notably bearing upon it is not adduced, there is some presumption that the passage was unknown to that writer,

CHAPTER VI.

DISCUSSION OF THE EVIDENCE DERIVED FROM THE FOREGOING SOURCES.

§ 1. *Summary of results reached so far.*

THE results at which we have arrived may be summed up as follows :—

We have seen that it is possible to assign approximately, on purely external considerations, the date at which any given manuscript was transcribed. This, however, does not necessarily give the date of the text contained in the MS., but only a date than which the text cannot be later. It is possible that a MS. of late date may have been copied from one little earlier than itself, and this again from one but little earlier, and so on ; so that a great number of transcriptions have intervened between it and the original text ; each transcription introducing fresh variations ; or on the other hand, it may have been copied directly from a MS. of great antiquity, so that it is only a few steps removed from the original. Thus a very (comparatively) recent MS. *may* present a very ancient text ; but the first presumption is against it, and the claim must be proved for every separate case. A knowledge, however, of the date of an early MS. is useful as giving a point of time before which any variation occurring in that MS. must have arisen. We have two MSS. of the fourth century supplying us, as has been shown already, with the *evidence of other MSS.* of a date anterior to themselves.

There are other MSS. of every subsequent century down to the fifteenth.

Of the existing Versions, we have seen that we know a great deal about the history of the Latin, including the fact that in its earliest forms, considerable remains of which are extant, it belongs to the second and third centuries. We are sure that a Coptic translation of the Scriptures must have existed before the close of the second century; nor is there any reason to doubt that the two dialectic versions of that language, the Memphitic and Thebaic, are of nearly that antiquity. We know from external sources that a Syriac version existed as early as the second century, and that the Peshito is at least as old as the early half of the fourth, if not the end of the third. The Gothic version we know to belong to the middle of the fourth; the Armenian to the middle of the fifth; the Philoxenian and Harclean to the sixth and seventh centuries respectively. The dates assigned in Chapter IV to the Curetonian Syriac, and to the Æthiopic, depend in part upon internal considerations, which have yet to be discussed.

The dates of all the Patristic writings useful for our purposes are known historically. Consequently, where they have been edited critically, or where we meet with explicit statements in them regarding any given readings, there we have distinct evidence of the recognition of the reading in question in the time of the writer; and in many cases his opinion upon the correctness or incorrectness of it.

Some of this sort of evidence is of the second century; a great deal of it belongs to the third and early fourth.

The question next arises, Is it possible, with this amount of actually dated evidence, to construct a history of the text, at any rate in broad outline? Can we gain some general notions of the *direction*, so to speak, in which the text was *modified*? If we could fix but a few clear landmarks, we

might be able to assign to any particular Text, of otherwise unknown date, its historical place in the series with some degree of probability. We must now therefore turn our attention to the characteristics of the different Texts presented by these various authorities, and see what phenomena they exhibit.

§ 2. *MSS., though independent of each other, are marked off by general features into groups.*

The first and most obvious feature is, that scarcely any two known MSS. show anything like complete verbal agreement. There are the few cases mentioned on p. 14 above. But the much-talked-of unanimity of the late, is just as imaginary as that of the early, authorities: that is, in any strict sense of the word.

On the other hand, there may be noticed certain marked features which, in the judgment of all critics, are a sufficient ground for separating the existing authorities into tolerably well-defined groups; though not so minute as to exclude individual variations in the case of each separate MS.

These special features are:—

- a. Peculiarities of *spelling*: e.g. such forms as *λήμψομαι*, *ἀντιλήμψεις*, &c.; *ν* preserved unassimilated in words compounded with prepositions, as *συνζητεῖν*, *σύνζυγος*, &c.; *ν* *ἐφεκυστικόν*, and the final *ς* of *οὕτως*, &c., preserved before consonants. The aspirate substituted for the *tenuis* in such cases as *ἔφιδε*, *ἐφ' ἐλπίδι*, *ἀφελπίζοντες*, κ.τ.λ. Such forms as *τεσσαράκοντα*, *δλεθρεύων*, *ἐχθές*, for *τεσσαράκοντα*, *δλοθρεύων*, *χθές*, and others.
- β. Peculiar formation of *inflections*: as *μαχαίρης*, *σπείρης*, for the Attic termination in *-ας*; the accus. of nouns of third declension, and of adjectives, ending in *-ν*, as *ἀστέραν*, *χείραν*, *μήναν*, *ἀσφαλῆν*, *ποδῆρην*, &c.; neglect of the aug-

ment in a few verbs beginning with a diphthong as *οικοδόμησα, εῤχοντο*, &c.; second aorists with first aor. terminations as *εἶπα, ἔπεςα, ἦλθα*, &c.

- γ. Peculiarities of *syntax*: *ἄν* for *ἐάν*; *ἵνα, ἐάν, ὅταν*, &c., with the indicative; for which, as well as for abundant examples of the previous peculiarities, the reader is referred to Tischendorf's *Prolegomena*, and to Winer's *Grammar*, edited by Rev. W. F. Moulton, 1870, pp. 37-128.
- δ. Certain characteristic readings, including variations in the order of words, omissions and interpolations of words, and even of clauses, which must be noticed more at length presently by themselves.

§ 3. *Three main groups commonly recognised by critics.*

That manuscript texts fall into several distinct groups, marked by the presence or absence of peculiarities of this sort, has been recognised by all the later critics.

For just 200 years, from the time of the Complutensian editors and Erasmus down to Mill and Bentley, only *the variations* of MSS. were noted. The *Textus Receptus* was reprinted again and again, MSS. were collated and their various readings registered, but no comparison of them was attempted. Nor were editors to blame for this. Sufficient materials were as yet wanting.

The next 140 years was a period in which materials were more systematically amassed and classified, and various theories of criticism propounded. MILL (d. 1707) led the way, pointing out the relative value of the three sources of evidence, and collecting immense stores of material of each kind. BENTLEY (d. 1742) very shortly afterwards pointed out the true mode of dealing with the available evidence; but 'he was in advance both of the spirit of his age, and of the materials at his command,' and his labours were not brought to perfection.

As soon as a sufficient mass of evidence was at the disposal of the critic to admit of comprehensive treatment, the points of *similarity* as well as of *divergence* began to be noticed; and it was soon seen that the authorities fell into groups. Two, three, and four groups have been distinguished by different critics; and different hypotheses propounded to account for their origin. All alike have recognised a broad distinction between a comparatively small group, which includes the most ancient documents, together with some later uncials and a few cursives, and the group to which the great mass of more recent MSS. belong. Some critics go on to subdivide one or both of these.

BENGEL (d. 1752) would at first have subdivided the former of these and made three groups; but finally he pronounced in favour of two, which he called *African* and *Asiatic*.

GRIESBACH (d. 1812) finally declared in favour of three groups, which he named *Alexandrine*, *Western*, and *Byzantine*. The two former of these would be subdivisions of Bengel's '*African*'; but Griesbach himself allowed that the line of demarcation between them was not rigid. The '*Western*' group was intended to contain D and other Græco-Latin codices, with the Latin versions.

HUG (the first edition of his *Einleitung* was published in 1808, the fourth in 1847) attempted a more subtle analysis, intended to exhibit the mode in which he thought the grouping had arisen. He thought he could discern *four* groups; one containing examples of an unrevised text, the other three being derived from this by independent revisions. Two of these, however, contain the chief part of our existing documents, and in the main coincide with the groups of the twofold division. EICHORN (1818-1827) agreed in Hug's scheme with some slight modifications. SCHOLZ (1830-1836) returned to the simpler twofold division, naming his *classes Alexandrine* and Constantinopolitan. LACHMANN

(d. 1851) speaks of two groups, *African* and *Byzantine*. TISCHENDORF adopts a fourfold division in two pairs, naming them *Alexandrine* and *Latin*, *Asiatic* and *Byzantine*. WESTCOTT and HORT also recognise four groups; three belonging to a 'pre-Syrian' stage of the text, which they call (α) *Neutral*, (β) *Western*, (γ) *Alexandrian*; and a fourth, (δ) *Syrian*, due to authoritative recensions of the text at some time between 250 and 350 A.D. Of those (α) and (γ) together would nearly coincide with Griesbach's *Alexandrine*, (β) with his *Western*, and (δ) with his *Byzantine*.

It is pretty clear from this that three groups at all events must be recognised: for the *Western* group, so-called though not very appropriately, since it is found necessary to include in it the Curetonian Syrian, is as strongly marked by its strange insertions and omissions and periphrastic tendencies, and has therefore as clear a claim to recognition as the other two. Apart from these features the text of this group approaches that of the smaller, *non-Byzantine* (Griesbach's *Alexandrine*) group. Yet it must not be supposed that the documents which are referred to the several groups always contain pure texts of their kind, or that they are sharply distinguished from each other. The texts in nearly all cases exhibit admixtures of readings from different sources. What is meant by this distinction of groups is that each of the documents composing them possesses certain textual characteristics—a text of a certain marked type on the whole,—even though exhibiting some readings belonging to another type. The text of the larger *Byzantine* or *Constantinopolitan* group is more conformed in diction to ordinary classical Greek, and, in the passages referred to under the *fourth* head (§ 2, δ, above), presents the readings which we find in the *Textus Receptus*.

§ 4. *Examples of the proofs that the earlier type of text is to be found in the smaller group of witnesses.*

The nature of the text of the Western group renders it out of the question to look for the genuine text here. But between the remaining two groups it has to be shown that the type of text given by the first, though the smaller, of these groups is older than that of the other, which is numerically so much larger. In other words, the text which we should construct, if we take our authorities from the first group, will be nearer to that of the New Testament writers themselves than a text based upon the other group. This is proved by an inductive argument, depending upon a comparison of the readings of the two groups of MSS., in a number of passages where the true reading is given by indisputably early authorities, such as express citations of the early Patristic writers, and versions like the *Vetus Latina*, whose antiquity is above dispute. Here we must guard against arguing in a circle. For instance, the Curetonian Syriac cannot be used in the proof. That it can lay claim to the very highest antiquity we have already once or twice implied; but this claim rests upon considerations drawn from the character of its text. We cannot therefore, in the first place, use it to determine what type of text is the oldest. But when the characteristics of the oldest type of text have been determined by other evidence, and we find that the Curetonian Syriac, or any other version, or any late Greek MSS., presents a text of this type, we may assume it into the group, and henceforth make use of its evidence to help in determining any doubtful questions that may remain.

We proceed then to discuss a few such crucial passages by way of example. [The student is strongly recommended to work out the critical evidence of other passages than those which follow, with the help of some good critical edition of

the Greek Testament. A list of such passages may be found in Tregelles' Account of the Printed Text, p. 153, &c.^a A very large number of passages are discussed, with the evidence known at the time of the publication of the work, by Mr. Green in his Course of developed Criticism (Bagsters). Apart from the power thus gained of appreciating the value of the different kinds of evidence, it is only by such an exercise that it is possible to realise the force of the argument for preferring the text of the few older to that of the many late witnesses.]

- a. Quite a test-passage is S. Matt. xix. 17. The Textus Receptus reads *τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἰς, ὁ Θεός*, which is the unquestioned reading in the parallel passages S. Mark x. 18; S. Luke xviii. 19. The alternative reading in S. Matthew is *τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ; εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγαθός*: the very existence of which backed by any good support, would be a strong *prima facie* argument for its genuineness, on the principle laid down at p. 100. Now let us see what the evidence is. Not to go into extreme minutiae, it will be found that the reading of the Textus Receptus is supported by C of the old MSS.; by the later uncials and the mass of cursives: by *f* and *q* of the Latin versions; by the Peshito and Harclean (*text*) of the Syriac versions; and by the Thebaic: also by Hilary, Optatus, Ambrose, and Chrysostom, with the main body of the later Patristic writers. For the other reading, the first clause is supported by *κ*, B, [D]^b, L 1, 22: by nine codices of the Vetus Latina, and the Vulgate; by the

^a Some of his instances are the various readings in S. Matt. xviii. 35; S. Mark iii. 29; S. Luke viii. 9, and 20; S. John v. 16; vi. 51; ix. 8, and 26; x. 33; Acts xv. 24; Rom. v. 1; xiv. 9; 1 Cor. ii. 4; vii. 5, &c.

^b When an authority is quoted in brackets, it is implied that its evidence is only partial; as here, D, by the omission of *τοῦ*, is not in strict accordance with *κ* and B.

Jerusalem Syriac, the Memphitic, and the Armenian versions : by Eusebius, Jerome, and others of the Fathers : Origen and S. Augustine mention it expressly in these words : ὁ μὲν οὖν Ματθαῖος ὡς περὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἔργου ἐρωτηθέντος τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐν τῷ, τί ἀγαθὸν ποιήσω ; ἀνέγραψεν. ὁ δὲ Μάρκος καὶ Λουκᾶς φασὶ τὸν σωτῆρα εἰρηκέναι τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν ; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἰς, ὁ Θεός : and *de illo divite . . . potest videri distare aliquid, quod secundum Matthæum dicitur, Quid me interrogas de bono ? secundum illos autem* (sc. S. Mark and S. Luke) *Quid me dicis bonum ? . . . , &c.* The τοῦ is omitted by D.

The second clause is supported by $\aleph$, B, [D], L, (1), 22 ; by seven codices of the Vetus Latina, and the Vulgate ; by the Jerusalem Syriac, the Memphitic, and Armenian. ὁ is omitted by D and 1. This clause is not so *expressly* supported by any Patristic writer as the first ; but it occurs very distinctly in Irenæus, though in combination with the Textus Receptus version of the first clause. Several authorities give a mixed edition of the passage, one clause in accordance with one form, the other clause in accordance with the other form, as the Harclean Syriac (*margin*), the Æthiopic, two codices of the Vetus Latina ; Eusebius, Irenæus, and Justin Martyr ; while the cursive MS. 251 gives both the forms in full, that of the Textus Receptus first, and then the other. Such evidence as this points unmistakably to the existence of an antecedent variation. The evidence of Origen and S. Augustine is express as to a difference between S. Matthew's account and those of S. Mark and S. Luke. Among those authorities which present a different form of the passage in S. Matthew from that in the parallel passages are included nearly all the very earliest. The reading *here given* by $\aleph$ and B seems to have been current before *the time* of Irenæus and Justin Martyr, and before the

formation of the *Vetus Latina*: that is to say, we are carried back at least to the beginning of the second century; which is an earlier date than can be claimed by any authority for the common reading of this passage.

Further, it must be remembered that it is in accordance with the observed tendency of copyists to alter one passage into conformity with another parallel passage. It is not their habit to introduce discrepancies.

And, once more, let us consider that on no intelligible principle can it be assumed that the passage has been tampered with on theological grounds; for then why were the two parallel passages left, as they are, without any suspicion of a variation?

On the whole, we must conclude that in this passage those authorities which differ from the *Textus Receptus* give us the earlier and truer text.

β. In *S. Matt. xv. 8* the *Textus Receptus* reads [ἐγγίζει μοι] ὁ λαὸς οὗτος [τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν καὶ] τοῖς χεῖλεσί με τιμᾷ, which is scarcely varied from the *LXX.* of *Is. xxix. 13*. This is the reading of *C* and most of the later uncials and of the mass of cursives; of *f* alone among the Latin versions, and of the *Harclean Syriac*. On the other hand, the words which are enclosed in square brackets are omitted by *κ, B, D, L, 33, 124*; by all the Latin versions (except *f*), the *Peshito*, *Memphitic*, *Armenian*, and *Æthiopic*. The *Patristic* evidence is for the omission; Origen saying expressly, after quoting the passage in full from *Isaiah*, καὶ προεϊπομέν γε ὅτι οὐκ αὐταῖς λέξεσιν ἀνέγραψεν ὁ Ματθαῖος τὸ προφητικόν.

Thus here again we find the same smaller group of *MSS.* presenting that reading for which there is express authority in an early writer, and very early support from the versions. Besides, it is a well-known tendency of the copyists to supply defects in quotations.

- γ. The case is as nearly as possible the same in S. Matt. xx. 22, δύνασθε πειν τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ μέλλω πίνειν, [καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθῆναι]. Here again Origen expressly says that the latter clause is in S. Mark, and not in S. Matthew. In S. Mark all our authorities give it without variation: in S. Matthew it is omitted by $\aleph$, B, D, L, Z, 1, 22; by almost all the codices of the Vetus Latina, by the Memphitic, Thebaic, and Æthiopic. It is found in C, with the later MSS., uncials and cursives; in the Peshito and Harclean Syriac, and in the Armenian, with *f*, *h*, and *g* of the Vetus Latina.

The same considerations as in the previous case will govern our choice of the reading, about which there is no room to doubt.

- δ. Even readings that are undoubtedly erroneous may help to show the antiquity of the documents in which they occur: e.g. after S. Matt. xx. 28, there is found in D, in the Curetonian, and one codex of the Harclean (*margin*) Syriac, and in almost all the codices of the Vetus Latina, but in no other Greek MS. or early version, an extensive interpolation, which may be seen in Scrivener's Introduction, p. 576. There are numberless variations in these authorities, and S. Jerome has rejected it. There is no doubt that it is an interpolation; but since it was certainly current in the second century, and rejected in the fourth, the text exhibited by any document containing it would probably be very ancient.
- ε. A very instructive passage to examine is S. Luke xi. 2-4, containing that Evangelist's account of the Lord's Prayer. As read in a modern critical edition of the Greek Testament, it will be found to want three clauses, which occur in the form as given by S. Matthew: viz. ἡμῶν ὃ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, γενηθῇ τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, and ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

For the *insertion* of the first of these clauses *entire* the authorities are A, C, D, with about fifteen other uncials, and most of the cursives; *δ, ε, f, l, q* of the Vetus Latina; the Peshito and Harc. Syriac, the Memphitic, and the Æthiopic. L, one cursive, one early copy of the Vulgate, and the Armenian version support ἡμῶν only. Four copies of the Vetus Latina give *sancle* instead of *noster*. No. 33 (cursive) seems to favour *δ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* but not ἡμῶν. For the *omission* entire are *κ, B, 1, 22, 57, 130, and 346*; with all the chief MSS. of the Vulgate but two; as well as the express testimony of Origen, and of a scholion in some of the MSS. Origen's words are, *ἔχουσι δὲ αἱ λέξεις τοῦ μὲν Ματθαίου . . . Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν . . . τοῦ δὲ Λουκᾶ οὕτως, Πάτερ ἀγιοσθήτω . . . κ. τ. λ.* Tertullian's testimony seems also to favour the omission. Now strong as the evidence for the full form seems at first sight, it is much weakened, first by the variations also attested, and then by the deliberate rejection of the clause from the Latin in S. Jerome's Vulgate. Against this and the express assertion of Origen it cannot stand; especially when we remember that the tendency of copyists to supply supposed deficiencies would be likely to be stronger than ever here, where the longer form was so familiar from constant public and private use.

We then pass to the clause *γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, which is wanting in B, L, 1, 22, 130, 346; *ff*² of the Vetus Latina; and the Vulgate. There is also most express testimony of Origen, Tertullian, and S. Augustine for the omission in S. Luke; Origen and S. Augustine drawing attention to the contrast between his form and S. Matthew's. The presence of the clause is attested by *κ, A, C, D, &c.*; by the chief codices of the Vetus Latina; by the Peshito

and Harclean Syriac, and the Memphitic. There are slight variations here too between the different witnesses; and the same marked disagreement between the Vetus Latina and the Vulgate of S. Jerome. In fact, on the whole the same remarks apply here as in the previous case.

For the third clause, *ἀλλὰ ρῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*, the authorities are (N^c), A, C, D, &c.; seven codices of the Vetus Latina; the Peshito and Harc. Syriac; the Memphitic, and the Æthiopic: ranged against which are N*, B, L, 1, 22, 57, and six other cursives; the Vulgate, and Armenian; with the express testimony of Origen, Cyril, and S. Augustine, and apparently that of Tertullian. Here again the verdict of the recent critical editors is in favour of omitting the clause.

It is pertinent to observe that an omission, so strongly attested as this is, of three important clauses, in a formulary so well known and cherished as the Lord's Prayer, is utterly inexplicable on the hypothesis that S. Matthew's form is the only genuine one. We can easily understand the importation of the clauses, either from another Gospel or from a well-known liturgical formula, into a less familiar and seemingly abridged form, like that of S. Luke; but neither accident nor intention can adequately account for such clear evidence as there is in favour of so large an omission, if S. Luke's Gospel had originally contained the clauses in question.

These five instances are samples of a vast number^c of others, by means of which it is shown that the true text is on the whole to be sought for in the smaller of the two groups of MSS., not indeed existing unimpaired in any single docu-

^c *Dr. Tregelles* estimates that there are between two and three thousand. (On the Printed Text, p. 148, note.)

ment, but capable of being elicited by a careful comparison of all. It must be borne in mind, however, that these instances are but samples, and that the value of the induction rests upon the number of instances discussed. A conclusion drawn from a few might easily be erroneous. For instance, it might be thought from the examples above given that C is commonly opposed to A and B, and in harmony with the Textus Receptus; whereas on the whole the contrary is true.

Dr. Tregelles sums up the results of his investigation as follows (Account of the Printed Text, p. 148):—

‘Readings whose antiquity is proved apart from MSS. are found in repeated instances in a *few* of the extant copies.’

‘These few MSS., the text of which is thus proved to be ancient, include some (and often several) of the oldest MSS. extant.’

‘In some cases the attested reading is found in but one or two MSS., but those of the most ancient class.’

‘And as certain MSS. are found, by a process of inductive proof, to contain an ancient text, their character as witnesses must be considered to be so established, that in other places their testimony deserves peculiar weight.’

The same conclusions *mutatis mutandis* will hold of course with respect to the text exhibited by those versions whose dates are not known independently. Hence it is that the Curetonian Syriac, *which has been left out of consideration in the foregoing examples*, but which commonly agrees with the readings of the smaller group of witnesses, is judged to be an example of the most ancient type of text, and earlier than the Peshito.

Dr. Hort, approaching the problem from the other side, proves that the text of the larger group, which he calls *Syrian*, is posterior to the others by the following three arguments.

1. The Syrian text presents numerous instances of readings, which, according to all textual probability, must be considered to be combinations of earlier readings still extant (Intro. §§ 132-151).

2. From a careful analysis of Ante-Nicene patristic evidence it appears that, though there are instances of the various types of pre-Syrian readings, there are no historical traces of distinctively Syrian readings before the middle of the third century (Intro. §§ 152-162).

3. Internal evidence gives its verdict on the whole in the same direction. 'Often,' says Dr. Hort, 'either the Transcriptional^d or the Intrinsic evidence is neutral or divided, and occasionally the two kinds of evidence appear to be in conflict. But there are, we believe, no instances where both are clearly in favour of the Syrian reading, and innumerable where both are clearly adverse to it' (Intro. §§ 163-168).

It is right to add that this reasoning is called in question by Dr. Scrivener in his Introduction, p. 538 seq. Yet the general conclusion appears to be true, whether these exact premisses prove it, or no.

If this conclusion be not true, and if the text given by the larger group of MSS. be the purer of the two, we are met by a very remarkable phenomenon. For the true text will be one of which no example is found till after a lapse of several centuries from its origin; during which centuries, however, there is tolerably abundant evidence of the (so-called) corrupted text. A development-theory of a true text is out of the question. It would be absurd to assert that the text gradually cleared itself from errors as time advanced. So then we should have to believe that, though the original text was in existence previously to and alongside of the later corrupt text, the early versions were made from the corrupted form, and the early writers all quote from the corrupt form; while

^d See below, p. 102.

by a singular ill-fortune no very early MS. of the true text survives, though we have several of the corrupt form. It is easier to accept the other hypothesis. Further confirmation of our choice of alternatives is supplied by the next point which we have to notice.

§ 5. *An order traceable among the various documentary witnesses.*

Amid the variations of different witnesses a certain order seems traceable. It is true that we must not speak of a pure Alexandrine, or of a pure Byzantine text, as facts. There is no extant MS. exhibiting to us either one or the other. But this is a convenient, and not necessarily misleading, mode of describing the tendencies of the two main groups of witnesses; the normal types of which, as we contend, represent respectively an early and a late stage of one and the same text. The links between the normal types may be in some measure supplied by examples in which we see Alexandrine and Byzantine readings mixed in various degrees. The manuscripts in which this phenomenon occurs most markedly are of the fifth and sixth centuries. After the eighth century only a few copies here and there present Alexandrine readings. From this we might infer that during this period the text was undergoing a gradual transition. This hypothesis is confirmed by other evidence. In quotations by S. Chrysostom (fourth century) we find readings which agree with the Cod. Brixianus (f), and with the Gothic version, but which are not known to Origen, and do not agree with the earliest versions. This points to the late third or early fourth century as the period when the text was chiefly modified. We shall see presently good reason for thinking just this period to have been the most important in the history of the Greek text. (See Westcott and Hort's *Introd.* §§ 188-198; *Smith's Dict. Bib.*, art. 'New Test.', p. 510, § 15.)

Thus then, by the mutual comparison of ecclesiastical writers of various dates, with the versions, whose dates we also know, and the earliest transcribed MSS., we believe that we are able to show that a certain change passed over the text; because the whole set of phenomena are only explicable on the supposition that the so-called Alexandrine type of text is the earlier one and the Byzantine the later, not on the contrary supposition. These are the grounds on which the Peshito is adjudged to be posterior to the Curetonian Syriac, and this latter version to be of the earliest possible date; which confirm the otherwise highly probable antiquity of the Memphitic and Thebaic; and on which such cursives as 1 and 33 are quoted as of higher authority than many uncials.

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

IN our endeavour thus to discover in what documents the true text of the New Testament is most probably contained, we have reached this stage of the investigation. We find that the documentary evidence may be roughly classified into three groups: one of which however, the (so-called) *Western*, is allowed to have no claim to represent faithfully the original text by reason of certain extraordinary features which disfigure it. As regards the other two, the earliest corroborative evidence that can be gathered from patristic writings and the oldest versions, is in favour of the priority of that which is commonly called the Alexandrine^a. At the same time the text of the other, or Constantinopolitan, group was in existence before the end of the fourth century. Let us call these for convenience' sake the A-text and C-text respectively. Those who maintain that the C-text is most akin to the original autographs are bound to face two grave difficulties. First, they must explain (or explain away) the apparent weight of evidence on the opposite side, and how it comes to pass that while the earliest existing MSS. are of the A-type, and the earliest versions were apparently made from MSS. of the A-type, and the earliest writers seem to have used MSS. of the same character, there is next to no similar evidence producible for the C-group. Secondly, they are

^a It is evident that this word is used in the more inclusive sense, not exactly in Dr. Hort's. (See above, p. 75.)

bound to explain the development on some reasonable principles of the A-group out of the C-group, which on their hypothesis is the original and the earlier.

Conversely, those who hold that the A-text is the nearest to the original must show how the C-text arose out of MSS. of the other group. There have been two different theories propounded to account for the relation of the C-group to the A-group. Some critics have assumed that authoritative recensions, i. e. revisions, took place, whereby the text was definitely modified. Others have thought that the known tendencies of scribes in copying, accentuated and exaggerated by the peculiar conditions of the Church in the early fourth century, are sufficient to account for the phenomena. Hug at the beginning of this century thought he had discovered evidence of several different revisions. Resting his hypothesis on a mistaken interpretation of two passages in S. Jerome which speak of Lucian and Hesychius having laboured at the text of the Scriptures, and of certain copies called after their names, he thought that Hesychius gave a recension in Egypt, Lucian in Asia, and Origen in Palestine, all based upon the uncorrected and much-interpolated text current about the middle of the third century, to which he gave the name of *κοινή ἔκδοσις*. Dr. Hort too, in his Introduction, lays great stress upon a theory of recensions: in fact, it is an essential point in his system. He believes that within the Patriarchate of Antioch, at some time between 250 and 350 A.D., there was an authoritative revision of the Greek Text, which revision served as a standard for a similar authoritative revision of the Syriac Text, but was itself again subjected to a second authoritative revision carrying out more completely the purposes of the first (Westcott and Hort, *Introd.* p. 137), so that the later Greek Text, whether we call it Syrian, or Constantinopolitan, or Byzantine, is practically the result of a double revision of the earlier Texts: while the Peshito

(for this is Dr. Hort's meaning) is the result of a single revision of the earlier text, of which the Curetonian is the sole Syriac survivor. Dr. Hort's reasoning seems to lead convincingly up to his conclusions, as we read it. But the total absence of any evidence, other than inferential, for these revisions is a serious difficulty in the way of accepting this theory. We know about S. Jerome's revision in the case of the Latin texts, how the prejudice in favour of familiar readings forced him to be much more conservative in his revision than he desired: and then how long it was before his revision displaced the old texts (see above, p. 52). In the case of the Syriac Text the absence of early Syriac literature might cut off this ground of objection: but it is very difficult to conceive that a thorough-going and double revision of the Greek Text deliberately performed, and authorized, should have taken place without leaving any trace of mention behind in any writing of the period. We should hardly gather from what we do read that the laity were so submissive, or the ecclesiastical hand so powerful at that period, as that an authoritative change in the character of the text of the Scriptures would be likely to be introduced, if not unchallenged, at least unrecorded.

The other alternative seems to be that the C-text grew out of the A-text through the influence of the ordinary laws of transcriptional error, operating in this instance on an unusually large scale and under certain peculiar conditions.

Perhaps the most important event in the whole political history of the Church has been the formal recognition of Christianity by Constantine in the early part of this century (Edict of Milan, 313 A.D.), followed up by his favour to it, and ultimate adoption of it. Now let us try to imagine the probable effect upon a state of society, whose religious convictions were of the weakest conceivable kind, when a form of religion was placed before it, recommended with all the

influence that attaches to the court of an absolute Emperor ; and that, in the new capital, Constantinople, which had no time-honoured associations of its own, like those of pagan Rome, powerful to hold men captive to the old religions. Hitherto the profession of Christianity had involved an almost certain risk of persecution, perhaps of martyrdom. *Now* it became fashionable to be a Christian ; and there are multitudes in every age with whom such a motive is quite sufficient. The ranks of the Christians would be rapidly recruited : and one consequence of this, and of the legalization of public Christian worship, would be a considerable and sudden demand for copies of the Christian Scriptures. On the other hand, the difficulty of supplying the demand was enhanced by the wholesale destruction of the books during the persecutions of Diocletian (accession 284, abdication 305 A.D.). Now, bearing in mind what were the conditions of the case ; that a book, marked by a certain ruggedness of style, disfigured (as it would be called) by provincialisms in spelling and grammar, containing sometimes apparently discrepant accounts of the same transactions, had to be suddenly and rapidly multiplied for the public and private uses of a fashionable capital, and that by mere professional copyists ; we might reasonably expect to find just what we *do* find to have happened from some cause or other. We find a tendency to soften down and pare away those provincialisms and roughnesses, and to alter or supply words where one passage seems at variance with another. There was no sudden change. The tendency exerted itself very gradually, and often no doubt quite unconsciously. A scribe accustomed to a particular mode of spelling, for instance, or to a particular grammatical construction, would use it mechanically ; or a form of words familiar by repetition might easily be suggested and transcribed quite unintentionally in a different *passage, in which some similar words, or perhaps only some*

one leading word, occurred. In later times such alteration was intentional, as is shown by the correction throughout, at the cost of immense trouble, of such codices as B, or the Cod. Claromontanus, from the Alexandrine readings to the more classical forms of the later MSS.

It is no less easy to account for the existence of so many more MSS. of the Byzantine than of the Alexandrine type. Of course for a time the old centres of multiplication of copies, Alexandria, Antioch, and Cæsarea, remained in activity as well as Constantinople; and thus, from the comparison and correction of one copy by another, all sorts of mixed readings might easily get into circulation. But after the Mohammedan conquest of Egypt and Syria (633-639 A.D.), Constantinople remained the centre of Eastern Christianity for eight hundred years, until its capture in 1453; during which time the influences spoken of above would continue to operate with greater or less force, until, by the continual imperceptible accumulation of small changes, often without any distinct conscious intention, the majority of copies in circulation, though with many individual peculiarities, would exhibit a family likeness of their own, gradually more and more divergent from the ancient Alexandrine type.

Thus, possibly, without having recourse to any supposed revisions of the text, the phenomena exhibited by the extant MSS. may be fully accounted for.

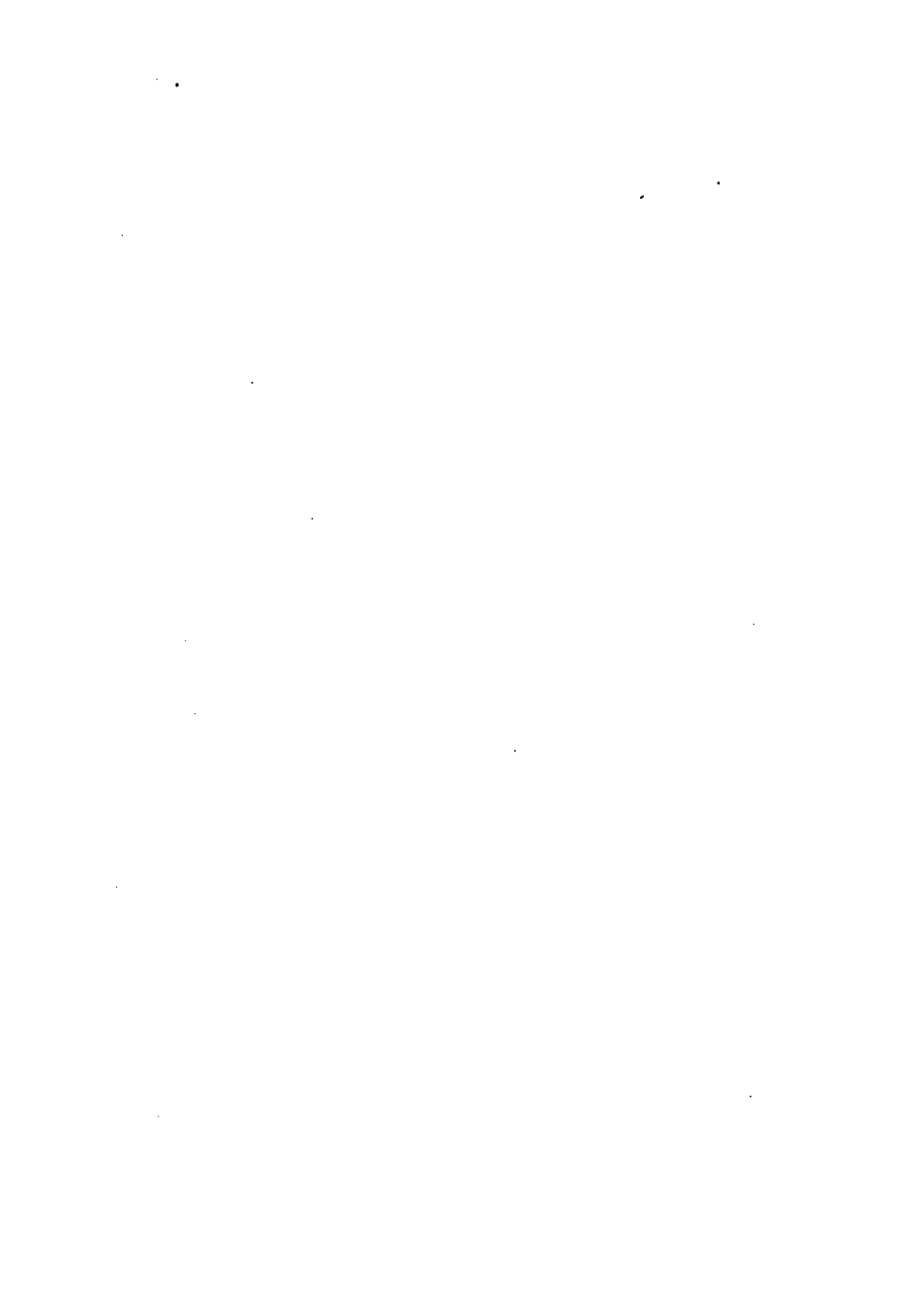
The relation thus shown to exist between the early Alexandrine type and the later Byzantine type of text is the justification of the remark at the end of Chapter I, which at first sight seems startling; namely, that we are warranted in refusing any authority to the *Textus Receptus as such*. We are now more prepared to accept a text formed upon those documents, MSS., Versions, and Patristic writings, which we have seen contain the earliest type of text: we do not look for unanimity in the documents from which we propose

to elicit the true text: we do not expect to find the true text complete in any single MS., or even any set of MSS. All the different sources of evidence have to be laid under contribution. Yet no one need be afraid that any uncertainty is thereby introduced into the sacred text, or the slightest doubt thrown upon any single doctrine whatsoever. The same investigations which justify this course of proceeding indicate clearly enough the proper mode of handling the materials placed before us. The result being that, except in a very few places, critical editors would be found to give practically the same text; and those few places would be of no real dogmatic significance. The truth is, that no doctrine of Christianity is founded on isolated passages of the Bible. To argue as if it were so would indicate entire misapprehension of the grounds of our faith.

Moreover, if these principles of dealing with the text seem to take away something with one hand, they give back something at least as valuable with the other. The same method which expunges the passage concerning the Heavenly Witnesses, and denies the reputed *authorship* of the *Pericope Adulteræ*, establishes, at any rate, the *canonicity* of this passage, and places beyond all reasonable doubt the authenticity of S. Luke xxii. 43, 44. The often-quoted words of Bentley are as true now as when he wrote them: 'Make your thirty thousand (various readings) as many more, if numbers of copies can ever reach that sum: all the better to a knowing and serious reader, who is thereby more richly furnished to select what he sees genuine. But even put them into the hands of a knave or a fool, and yet, with the most sinister and absurd choice, he shall not extinguish the light of any one chapter, nor so disguise Christianity but that every feature of it will still be the same.'

These considerations too seem to dispose of one argument  that has been brought against those critics who lean upon

the authority of the few and oldest MSS. It has been said that on their principles the Truth of Scripture has run a very narrow risk of being lost for ever to mankind ; for Cod. B has lain till now more than half concealed in the Vatican ; and Cod. $\aleph$ had found its way into a waste paper basket, when it was rescued by Tischendorf. And the critic proceeds, 'We incline to believe that the Author of Scripture hath not by any means shown Himself so unmindful of the safety of the Deposit as these learned persons imagine.' Surely there is a confusion here between the Deposit and the outer covering in which the Deposit has been handed down. Unless it can be pointed out that the fulness of any single doctrine is impaired by accepting the one text rather than the other, surely we shall be right in maintaining that the true lesson to be learned is that God has been wonderfully careful of the Deposit—the Sacred Truth—the substance of His revelation, which is not impaired, amid the manifold variety of readings : while at the same time He has not been so careful of the casket, the bare letter, in which the jewel has been enshrined, perhaps for the very purpose of teaching us that the one is not of the same eternal consequence as the other.



APPENDIX A.

ON CANONS OF CRITICISM.

It remains to notice some principles of criticism which have guided different critics in their task of deciding between the claims of conflicting readings. With regard to their value, it must be borne in mind that they are inferences rather than axiomatic principles. They are the recorded results of the comparison and interrogation of a large mass of documents of various kinds. Further, they belong to the region of probable evidence. Some of them admit of being more widely applied than others, and none of them could with safety be applied universally. By a well-known convention the value of such statements may be represented by a proper fraction, determined in each case according to the observed facts. For instance, let us suppose that the value of one of these principles is represented by the fraction $\frac{17}{20}$. This means that it may be expected to hold true in seventeen cases out of every twenty; but then, if rigidly applied, it would lead to a wrong result in three cases out of every twenty. Hence these canons must be applied with caution, and in combination with other evidence.

The student must above all things beware of supposing that there is any possibility of a mere arithmetical adjustment of the claims of conflicting readings. In estimating the probability of a various reading having arisen from some

particular cause, which may vary in different MSS. according to the observed idiosyncrasies of the scribe; and in comparing the different kinds of evidence, external and internal, for and against conflicting readings; apart from the practical acquaintance with the work of collating MSS., there must always be ample scope for the highest critical acumen, as well as for the most highly trained perception of the value of evidence.

It seems almost superfluous to affirm that *every element of evidence must be allowed its full weight*; but it is a principle that must not be forgotten.

Then, with reference to the External Evidence, such canons as the following have been laid down:—

1. The combined testimony of the earliest MSS. with the earliest versions, and quotations in the earliest writers, marks an undoubted reading.
2. In estimating the value of conflicting evidence, great weight must be given to the testimony of witnesses from localities widely separated from each other. Such testimony will outweigh that given by witnesses of one class, or coming from one locality, even though these may be numerically superior: and it can be satisfactorily met only by a counter consensus of witnesses from different localities.
3. It may be laid down generally that mere numerical preponderance of witnesses of one kind is of very little weight.
4. The relative weight of the three classes of evidence differs for different sorts of errors: therefore there can be no mere mechanical determination of the Text, by always taking the verdict of two out of the three classes, or by any other similar short and easy *method*.

5. Disagreement of the ancient authorities often marks the existence of a corruption anterior to them.
6. The ancient reading is *generally* the reading of the more ancient manuscripts.

Of canons relating to Internal Evidence the following are specimens^a :—

1. *Brevior lectio præferenda verbosiori*. This is Griesbach's first canon. It may be found, together with his others, with its various limitations and corollaries, in the Prolegomena to Dean Alford's Greek Testament, vol. i. It rests on the well-known tendency of transcribers, already before alluded to, to include in the text all marginal notes, glosses, &c. found in their copy; nothing, if possible, being omitted. This canon has additional probability in cases where the shorter reading is harsher than the other, or elliptical, or obscure; for then there is the possibility of the longer reading being an intentional alteration; or again, if there is in addition a variation between the readings of the codices, either in the phraseology, or in the order of words; or again, at the commencement of passages appointed as Church Lections.

On the other hand, there are considerations which may sometimes cause a preference of the longer reading, e. g. if a homoioteleuton may have occurred; if the words omitted might seem to a scribe superfluous,

^a It must be borne in mind that this list is not intended to be exhaustive. Every critical editor has laid down his own principles, of which it will generally be found that some cover the same ground as those of other editors, though differently worded; others depend upon the particular theories of the editor in question himself. The object of these pages being to give the beginner a general notion of the subject, only a few examples have been selected, of those most widely agreed upon, as illustrations of the mode of dealing with the evidence.

harsh, or contrary to a pious belief; or if the shorter reading seem to be out of harmony with the writer's style, or devoid of meaning. But such considerations must be used with great caution.

Examples of cases for the application of this canon have been given at pp. 79-81. See also the remarks on p. 20.

2. *Proclivi lectioni præstat ardua*. This was first laid down by Bengel. It depends upon the tendency of transcribers to alter (in perfect good faith, and fancying that they were doing a good work) something they did not understand into something which they did. It is of very wide application, but requires great circumspection in its use, for it may easily be overpressed. Among *lectiones arduæ* will be included some cases of solecism or unusual readings, rare or irregular usages of words, hebraisms, substitutions of less definite for more definite expressions (but here great caution is needed), cases of want of connexion, &c. This principle renders δικαιοσύνην for ἐλεημοσύνην (S. Matt. vi. 1), and ἀμαρτήματος for κρίσεως (S. Mark iii. 29), the more probable reading. It is an argument for those who would insert ὁ Θεός (Rom. viii. 28); though in this case the diplomatic evidence on the other side is too strong.

Griesbach laid down a maxim which would be covered by this one; *præferatur aliis lectio cui subest sensus apparenter falsus, qui vero re penitus examinata verus esse deprehenditur*. An illustration of this may be taken from Tregelles' Printed Text, pp. 203, 204. In the text, 1 Cor. xi. 29, ὁ γὰρ ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων (ἀναξίως) κρίμα ἑαυτῷ ἐσθίει καὶ πίνει μὴ διακρίνων τὸ σῶμα, the word ἀναξίως is wanting in the best authorities; and its absence may at first sight cause a little difficulty, as

long as the wrong impression remains upon one's mind, caused by the mistranslation in the English Version of the negative $\mu\eta$ as if it were $\sigma\upsilon$. Translate this accurately, and the difficulty vanishes: '*He that eateth and drinketh eateth and drinketh judgment to himself if he do not distinguish the Body.*' The clause $\mu\eta$ διακρίνων τὸ σῶμα belongs to the words δ ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων, and is placed last for emphasis' sake. The τοῦ Κυρίου of the Textus Receptus is also wanting in the best authorities, but its absence can cause no difficulty, inasmuch as the word σῶμα has occurred just before in connexion with τοῦ Κυρίου (ver. 27), and can therefore have but one meaning. ἀναξίως might have crept into the text from a marginal gloss intended to connect the $\mu\eta$ διακρίνων τὸ σῶμα of ver. 29 with the ἀναξίως of ver. 27.

3. *That reading is to be preferred which will explain the origin of the variations.* (Tisch. Prol. pp. 53, 63, 8th ed.) A good illustration of this is given in Smith's Dict. of the Bible, quoted from Tischendorf, though brought forward by him to illustrate a different principle. 'The common reading in Mark ii. 22 is δ οἶνος ἐκχεῖται καὶ οἱ ἀσκοὶ ἀπολύνται, which is perfectly simple in itself, and the undoubted reading in the parallel passage of S. Matthew. But here there are great variations. One important MS. (L) reads δ οἶνος ἐκχέεται καὶ οἱ ἀσκοί: another (D with It.^b) δ οἶνος καὶ ἀσκοὶ ἀπολύνται: another (B) δ οἶνος ἀπόλλυται καὶ οἱ ἀσκοί. Here, if we bear in mind the reading in S. Matthew, it is morally certain that the text of B is correct. This may have been changed into the common text, but

^b This (*Versio*) *Itala* means what has been called by us the *Vetus Latina*. Five of the best Codd. of this version agree in this variation.

cannot have arisen out of it.' This principle supplies an argument for adopting δs as the true reading (1 Tim. iii. 16); since both $\overline{\Theta C}$ and O can more easily have been derived from OC , than either OC and O from $\overline{\Theta C}$, or OC and $\overline{\Theta C}$ from O .

Closely connected with this is another principle laid down by Tischendorf, that a *reading which savours of being an intentional correction is to be suspected, notwithstanding that it may be supported by a majority of the witnesses of one class.* For, in such a case, inspection of the true reading will suggest the mode in which the correction was applied. One of Tischendorf's examples is $\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ in S. Matthew xxv. 16, which he considers the true reading for $\epsilon\acute{\kappa}\epsilon\rho\delta\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$. Tregelles, on the other hand, and Westcott and Hort think that the diplomatic evidence for $\epsilon\acute{\kappa}\epsilon\rho\delta\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ is too weighty to be set aside. (Treg. Gk. Test. in loc.; Dict. of Bible, vol. ii. p. 530; Tisch. Proleg. pp. 53, 56, 8th ed.)

4. *In parallel passages, whether quotations from the Old Testament, or different narratives of the same event, that reading is prima facie to be preferred which gives a verbal dissidence, rather than a verbally concordant reading.* Instances of this principle have been already given (pp. 21, 77, 80-82, &c.) The principle rests on the well-attested tendency of the transcribers to bring passages into harmony with one another. It is discussed, with its cautions and limitations, in Tisch. Proleg. pp. 60-63 (8th ed.)
5. *Those readings are to be retained which are characteristic either of the Hellenistic idiom, or of the style of the New Testament writers.* This principle looks to the cases of unclassical idioms, unusual modes of spelling, and other irregularities. Great caution is

needed in applying it, for it is almost as possible that a scribe should alter the reading before him to a form of expression characteristic of his author, as that he should do the opposite. (See the remarks on p. 5.)

A special feature in the new system of Textual Criticism of Drs. Westcott and Hort is the place they assign to these Canons, and their mode of using them. They have commonly been employed, according as the case demanded, in determining separately and successively the probably true reading among the variants of each passage in the text as it was presented. According to Drs. Westcott and Hort, the determination for each passage is part of a complicated and connected process of reasoning. To explain fully what this process is would be to transcribe §§ 24-84 of their Introduction; but in bare outline it may be described as follows. The first step is to ascertain, as far as possible, the genealogy, i. e. the mutual relations to each other, of the various documents which contain the text under consideration. This will point to certain classes or groups of documents within which the true type of the text may be looked for. Thus the amount of variation to which the critic's attention need be confined becomes reduced. Such evidence will be partly external, partly internal. A further test is found in the 'Internal Evidence of Groups of Documents,' (or 'of single documents,' if the number of documents is small). By this is meant the presumption which a careful continuous analysis and classification of the readings of a connected group of MSS. affords, as compared with the readings of other groups, that that group contains within itself the true type of text. If these two methods corroborate each other, the presumption in favour of their combined conclusion is very strong.

But there are yet other considerations which should be

used to test the result, viz. the two kinds of 'Internal Evidence of Readings.' These are designated by Dr. Hort, (1) 'Intrinsic probability,' and (2) 'Transcriptional probability.' When there are more various readings than one in a given passage, of course all but one must be erroneous : and we have two distinct sets of direct considerations to assist us in detecting the true one from the rest, viz. (1) Which was the author likely to have written? That reading which we think must have been his words, taking a comprehensive view of his style, general teaching, the drift of the context, and so on, would be said to have 'intrinsic probability.' (2) What were the copyists, who somehow or other must have produced the erroneous readings, likely to have had before them? That reading which seems to us most likely to have been changed into the several various readings, consistently with the known tendencies and habits of scribes, would be said to have 'transcriptional probability.' Canons 2 and 5 (above) would be connected with intrinsic, Canons 1, 3 and 4 with transcriptional, probability. Used thus, as subordinate parts of a connected system, these canons attain a higher value, than if applied independently to the determination of an isolated reading.

APPENDIX B.

CRITICAL DISCUSSION OF SOME DISPUTED PASSAGES.

WE now propose to review the evidence for and against a few readings of passages, respecting which there has been some important difference of opinion. Some have been already noticed incidentally. It will be convenient to arrange the evidence for and against them under the four heads separately, of Greek MSS., Versions, Fathers, and Subjective Considerations.

(1) The first text we will discuss shall be the famous one of the Heavenly Witnesses (1 S. John v. 7, 8). Are the words *ἐν τῇ οὐρανῷ ὁ Πατήρ, ὁ Λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσι. καὶ τρεῖς εἰσι οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ* genuine, or not?

I. The evidence in favour of them is as follows :—

1. Cod. Montfortianus (XVI), at Dublin ; Cod. Ottonianus (XV), in the Vatican Library ; a marginal note by a seventeenth-century hand in MS. No. 173 ; and Cod. Ravianus, which is simply a transcript of the *printed* Complutensian edition.
2. *m*, *r* of the Vetus Latina, *cav. lat.* and many late MSS. of the Vulgate ; (in the earlier of these authorities the order of verses 7 and 8 is inverted) ; some apparently, but few, Armenian MSS. ; a few recent Slavonic.

3. Some African Latin Fathers, viz. Vigilius and Fulgentius, of the fifth century, are the earliest who quote the verses, here too in inverted order ; and the Profession of Faith presented by Eugenius, Bp. of Carthage, to Hunneric, King of the Vandals, was an official document containing them. The passages quoted from Tertullian ^a and Cyprian ^b in their favour need mean no more than that these writers interpreted the three earthly witnesses as having reference to the three Persons of the Blessed Trinity.

II. The evidence against the passage is :—

1. It is omitted in every Greek MS. and Lectionary prior to the fifteenth century.
2. It is omitted in every version of critical value except the Latin ; for its occurrence in good copies of the Armenian is very doubtful : and, as to the Latin, all but *m* and *r* of the *Vetus Latina* omit it ; so do the best of S. Jerome's revision ; so do the best of Alcuin's revision.
3. No Greek Father quotes the passage, even in the numerous arguments on the Mystery of the Blessed Trinity, where its value would have been immense.
4. The numerous variations of text, amounting to twelve or more in so short a compass, and the variation in the order of the verses above mentioned, are by themselves enough to throw suspicion on the passage.

The conclusion from this evidence must be that the text

^a *Adv. Prax.* 25 ; *de Pudic.* 21.

^b *De Eccles. unit.* 5 ; *Ep.* (73) *ad Jubaianum.*

has not a shadow of a claim to authenticity^c or genuineness. The scanty evidence in its favour is all Latin, and seems to proceed from Africa; we may almost say from one province in Africa, viz. Byzacene, where Vigilius and Fulgentius were bishops. Thence it gradually spread.

(2) Our next instance shall be S. John vii. 8. The T. R. reads ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔχω ἀναβαίνειν εἰς τὴν ἐορτὴν ταύτην.

I. Evidence for οὐκ :—

1. B, L, T, and eleven secondary uncials, with all the cursives but three.
2. (Vet. Lat.) *f, g, q*; (Vulg.) some codd., not the best; Syrr.^d P. H (*text* and *marg.*); J; Theb.; Goth.
3. Basil.

II. Evidence for οὐκ :—

1. N, D, K, M, Π, and three good cursives.
2. (Vet. Lat.) *a, b, c, e, ff^a, l* (*sec. man.*); (Vulg.) best codd.; Syr.^d C; Memph.; Arm.; Æth.
3. Porphyry (in S. Jerome); Jer.; Epiph.; Chrys.; Cyril; all expressly.
4. This is undoubtedly at first sight the more difficult reading: therefore, inasmuch as it does give a satisfactory sense when carefully weighed, this is in its favour.

* Following Archbishop Trench (Select Glossary, p. 15; see also Blunt's Theological Dictionary, art. 'Authenticity') we have used the word 'authentic' as implying that a given writing *proceeded from the pen of the writer to whom it is ascribed*; 'genuine,' as implying that it is a *veracious, incorrupt*, record. Hence a canonical and inspired writing may be *genuine* without being *authentic*, as the 'Pericope Adulteræ,' or perhaps the Epistle to the Hebrews. Some writers interchange these meanings; hence the student must be on his guard when he meets with them.

^d The Letters after Syrr. stand for 'Peshito,' 'Harclean,' 'Jerusalem,' and 'Curetonian,' respectively.

We have then the best early, widespread, diplomatic evidence in favour of *οὐκ*. This and the express Patristic testimony, backed up by the consideration under No. 4, give ample grounds for adopting this reading instead of *οὐπω*.

(3) The next passage for discussion shall be one which presents several considerable difficulties (S. John vii. 53—viii. ; 11), the narrative of the Woman taken in Adultery. The evidence is as follows.

I. Against the passage :—

1. *κ*, (A), B, (C), T, (L), X, (Δ), 33, and about 60 cursives omit it. (A, C are deficient in this place, but the hiatus is not large enough to have contained the passage. L leaves a small gap ; as also does Δ, the scribe of which began to write the first words of ch. viii. 12 consecutively after ch. vii. 52, and then erased them.)

E, M, Λ, S, Π, and 58 cursives have the passage, but with an asterisk or obelus to the whole or part of it in the margin.

Eleven cursives place the passage at the end of the Gospel ; four others place a part of the passage there ; one inserts it after vii. 36 ; while the four cognate MSS. mentioned on p. 14 place it after S. Luke xxi.

In the Lectionaries it is always assigned to the festival of one of the less important Saints Theodora, Pelagia or Euphemia.

2. (Vet. Lat.) *a*, *b*², *f*, *l*^{*}, *q* ; Syrr. C, P, H ; Theb. Memph. (oldest codd.) ; Goth. ; Arm. (oldest codd.) omit the passage.
3. It is nearly certain, either because they do not allude to the passage where the subject almost demands

it, or because their commentaries go on consecutively and yet pass over this section, that Origen, Tertullian, Chrysostom, Cyril Alex., Theodore Mops., Theophylact, and other writers were ignorant of it.

4. (a) The authorities which give the passage present great variations of reading ; which is generally suspicious.
- (β) The style is unlike S. John's. There are words and expressions which do not occur anywhere else in his writings ; while on the other hand his special peculiarities of style do not appear in this piece of narrative.
- (γ) It gratuitously breaks into the middle of a narrative, which runs on continuously but for this interposition.

II. On the other hand :—

1. D has it, but in a somewhat different form. F, G, H, K, U, r, and more than 300 cursives, have it. The gaps in L, Δ, betray some doubt on the scribes' part.
2. (Vet. Lat.) *δ**, *c*, *e*, *ff*², *g*, *j*, *l* (mg.); Vulgate, even the best codd.; Æth.; Syr. J, &c. have it.
3. The earliest writing in which the passage is recognised is the Apostolic Constitutions. S. Jerome testifies that it was found in many Greek and Latin codices ; and S. Augustine defends it : S. Ambrose alludes to it.

Scrivener (Introduction, p. 610), allows that 'on all intelligent principles of mere criticism the passage must needs be abandoned.' That is to say, we cannot allow it to be S. John's writing. The style and contents, indeed, in both of which it is utterly different from any of the narratives of the apocryphal gospels, convey an irresistible impression of

genuineness ; and it is probable that we have a piece of apostolic narrative, upon which the consent of the universal Church has set the seal of *canonicity*. But it would be more satisfactory to separate it from its present context, and place it by itself as an appendix to the Gospel, as is done by Westcott and Hort ; or at least print it in different type from the rest, to draw attention to the peculiar footing on which it stands ; or place it in brackets, as the New Testament Revisers have done. Nicholson in his work on 'the Gospel according to the Hebrews' adopts it as one of the Fragments of that ancient, long-lost document, being 'probably identical in substance at least with the narrative mentioned by Eusebius' (as contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews).

(4) 1 Tim. iii. 16 : Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκὶ is the reading of the Textus Receptus. For Θεὸς there are various readings, δς and ὁ.

It is convenient to summarize the evidence here, first for *a relative*, and secondly for Θεός ; then finally to decide between δς and ὁ.

I. Testimony for *a relative* :—

1. N*, A* 7^e, C*, F, G, 17, 73, 181 have δς ; D* reads ὁ. (B is defective here.)
2. Vet. Lat., Vulg. ; Syrr. P. and H. (text *and* mg.) ; Memph., Theb. ; Goth. ; Æth. ; Arm. ; and the Vatican Arabic MS.
3. The testimony of the Patristic writers needs sifting. The passages which have been cited from S. Ignatius and Hippolytus as favouring the

* There is a difference of opinion as to the testimony of the original scribe of A. Dr. Tregelles, in his edition of this part of the Greek Testament (published in 1870), and now Westcott and Hort, believe δς to have been the original reading. Dr. Scrivener, on the other hand, is in favour of ΘC (Θεός) (see his Introduction, p. 638, with an elaborate note). *Illustrious names are arrayed on both sides.*

reading Θεός are too vague to draw any conclusion from. The words of S. Ignatius are (Ad Ephes. 19) Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερούμενον, those of Hippolytus are Θεός ἐν σώματι ἐφανερώθη; but it is evident that these may be only statements of the doctrine of the Incarnation, which is involved in the verse under discussion, without being intended for express allusions to the verse. We must further set on one side those citations, which have been made, some in support of one, some of the other reading, but which, though they manifestly refer to the passage in question, are paraphrastic, and might follow naturally enough from either reading; since the mystery of God manifest in the flesh in the Person of Jesus Christ is unmistakeably expressed in both readings, though more clearly in one than in the other. Such quotations as Barnabas (Ep. 12), Ἰησοῦς οὐχ ὁ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἀλλ' ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ῥύπη καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθεῖς, with Theodotus, Ep. ad Diogn., and Origen, (the passages out of whose writings are given in Alford's Greek Testament at length), are thought to favour ὁ. Chrysostom may be quoted apparently on both sides.

The authorities which *certainly* favour the relative are Cyril of Alexandria^f, Epiphanius, Theodore Mops., the Latin translator of Origen, Jerome, Hilary, and Augustine, with all the Latin Fathers. It may be added, as contributing a certain weight to the evidence on this side, that the text is not quoted by writers, as S. Cyprian for instance, in arguments where the word Θεός,

^f See the remarks on p. 65.

suspicion. It is a little singular that the earliest evidence in its favour seems to point to Africa as its origin; as if there were perhaps some tradition afloat there, which took the form of a marginal gloss, and thence crept into the text. The weight of the earliest evidence is too strongly adverse to warrant our retaining the passage *in the text*.

(6) S. Luke xxii. 43, 44: ὥφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐνισχύων αὐτόν. καὶ γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ ἐκτενέστερον προσήχετο. καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἰδρὼς αὐτοῦ ὥσει θρόμβοι αἵματος καταβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. These two verses have been called in question; but without sufficient reason, as will be seen from the following statement of the evidence.

I. Evidence against the passage:—

1. $\aleph^a$?, A, B, R, T, 124.

13 has ὥφθη δέ (*prima manu*); the remainder added *sec. man.*

C^c, 13, 69, 124, and all known Evangelistaria, have the passage inserted after S. Matt. xxvi. 39.

E, S, V, Γ, Δ, Π, and others, including nine cursives, place an obelus or asterisk against it.

2. *f*; Memph. (ten codd.), Thebaic (some), and some Armenian, omit.

3. Cyril Alex. does not notice the verses in his Homilies on the Gospel of S. Luke; nor does S. Athanasius quote them, where it would have been natural for him to do so. Hilary testifies that the passage is wanting in very many Greek and Latin codices; S. Jerome, that it is found in some.

II. Testimony for the passage:—

1. $\aleph^*$ and b, D, F, G, H, K, L, &c., and nearly all

cursives. A has the Ammonian section which belongs to the passage *marked in the margin*^a; though the verses are wanting in the text.

2. All the codices of the Vet. Lat. but *f*; Vulg.; Syrr. C, P, H, and J; Thebaic (some); Memph. (some); Arm.
3. Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Hippolytus, and Dionysius Alex. very clearly refer to it; as do Hilary, Jerome, and Augustine, and numerous other writers, early and late.

Thus there is very full and early evidence in favour of the passage; in fact, the only very strong argument against it is its omission by B; and with this may be contrasted its presence in *κ*.

The insertion of the verses in S. Matthew's Gospel by the Evangelistaria and the four above-named MSS. points to what is probably the true cause of the omission here. The verses were regularly read after S. Matt. xxvi. 39 in the Lection for Holy Thursday, and as regularly omitted in their proper sequence in the Lection for Tuesday after Sexagesima. In MSS. then prepared for ecclesiastical use (vid. pp. 22, 23), sometimes they would be inserted in their *ecclesiastical* place, sometimes a marginal note would direct their omission in one place and insertion in another. It is easy to see how such 'Lectionary practice' might be the source of error.

On the whole, there is no reasonable doubt, at all events, upon the canonicity of the passage. Westcott and Hort consider it an interpolation, probably of Western origin, containing matter apparently derived from external sources.

^a Westcott and Hort however (Notes, p. 65) think that this merely shows the biblical text and the Eusebian notation to have been taken from different sources.

(7) S. Matt. xxi. 28-31. The difficulties in connexion with this passage do not admit of being stated very shortly. There is a question of words in verse 31, viz. whether ὑστερος, or ἔσχατος, the meaning of which would be nearly the same, is to be substituted for πρῶτος in the answer of the Chief Priests. But this is complicated by a question of the order of the narrative; for some of the authorities transpose the answers of the two sons in the parable, placing first the answer of the son who professed to do his father's bidding but went not, and the answer of the other son second. Thus we really have three questions to consider:—

- (a) The order in which the sons are mentioned.
- (β) Which of the two sons did the Chief Priests intend to assert had done his father's bidding?
- (γ) The choice between the three words πρῶτος, ὑστερος, or ἔσχατος.

And we will take the evidence in the order here indicated.

- (a) To decide, then, the order in which the two sons are mentioned we have the following data:—

I. For the order of the Textus Receptus:—

- 1. 8, C, D, L, X, Z, &c., and most of the cursives.
- 2. Vet. Lat., Vulg.; Syrr. C, P, and H.
- 3. Origen, Eusebius, Cyril, Chrysostom, Irenæus (*int.*), Hilary.

II. For the converse order, which would make the elder son promise to go and then fail:—

- 1. B, and seven cursives.
- 2. One MS. of the Vulg. (*sec. man.*); Memph.; Syr. J; Arm.; Æth. (two codices).
- 3. Isidore, John of Damascus, the Pseudo-Athanasius.

- (β) As to the second question, Which of the two sons the Chief Priests meant to say had done the father's

bidding, we have to notice that all the MSS. and versions enumerated above, which reverse the order in which the sons are mentioned, also substitute ὕστερος or δεύτερος, or some equivalent word, for the πρῶτος of the Textus Receptus: thus the reply of the Chief Priests to our Lord is represented as virtually the same in either case. But D, and a good many codices both of the Vetus Latina and the Vulgate, which agree with the Textus Receptus in the order of the sons, have respectively ἔσχατος and *novissimum* for πρῶτος; thus transposing the connexion. S. Jerome interprets this answer on the hypothesis that the Chief Priests knew what answer our Lord intended them to give, but purposely gave a wrong one: at the same time, however, he asserts that, '*vera exemplaria*' had *primum* and not *novissimum* for their reading. There is only then the witness of D, backed by the partial testimony of the Latin versions in favour of this answer of the Chief Priests.

On the whole, then, the evidence for the order of the Textus Receptus seems sufficient; and the evidence for making the Chief Priests recognise the obedience of the son, who at first refused but afterwards repented, is overwhelming.

- (γ) And thus we are helped to an easy solution of the third question: namely, that we must adopt the reading πρῶτος of the Textus Receptus.

There are one or two subordinate variations, but not of sufficient consequence to demand separate treatment.

It may be remarked that Dr. Tregelles adopts the reading ὁ ὕστερος *without* the previous transposition of the two sons, and explains it as equivalent to ὁ ὕστερον μεταμεληθεὶς; the grammatical possibility of which may well be questioned.

(8) Acts xx. 28. There are *six* readings here to decide between, viz. (1) τοῦ Θεοῦ. (2) τοῦ Κυρίου. (3) τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ. (4) τοῦ Κυρίου Θεοῦ. (5) τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Κυρίου. (6) τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

It will be most convenient to consider them in the reverse order to that in which they are here enumerated.

In favour of (6) there is :—

1. No MS. authority.
2. Syr. P: and Vet. Lat. *m* (*Jesu Christi*).
3. Athanasius (some codices), Origen, Theodoret.

This therefore may at once be dismissed as a gloss.

In favour of (5), only cursive No. 47 is quoted.

In favour of (4), only No. 3, and 95 (*rec. man.*).

In favour of (3) :—

1. C^e, H, L, P. and more than one hundred and ten cursives.
2. The Slavonic (Tregelles' Printed Text), but no version of critical value.
3. Theophylact (in one place).

These three variants then may be dismissed as *conflate* readings, which really only testify to the existence of a doubt in early times between the claims of the two remaining important readings, Θεοῦ and Κυρίου. Between these the evidence is so nearly balanced, that the decision cannot be absolutely final.

In favour of (2) we find :—

1. A, C*, D, E, and about fifteen examined cursives.
2. Theb., Memph.; Syr. H. (mg.); Arm.; and (according to Tischendorf) the Roman Æthiopic.
3. Irenæus (*in*), Lucifer, Apostolic Constitutions, Athanasius (one codex), Augustine, Jerome, Didymus, Chrysostom (in a catena), Eusebius, and others.

But some of the quotations adduced, as that of Eusebius, *συνηγμένοι διὰ Κυρίου οὗς αὐτὸς ἐλυτρώσατο τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι*, are not close enough to the text to warrant us in asserting that one and not the other reading was intended to be quoted. There is a reminiscence of the passage, doubtless, but not a verbal quotation.

On the other hand, in favour of (1) are ranged :—

1. $\aleph$, B, about ten cursives, and twelve Lectionaries.
2. Vulg. ; Syr. H. (text).
3. Chrysostom (three times), Basil, Cyril Alex. (twice), Epiphanius, Ibas, Ambrose, and others. This is the only passage that would give Scriptural warrant for the remarkable expression of S. Ignatius, *ἐν αἵματι Θεοῦ* (Ad Ephes. 1) ; but in opposition to this the strong assertion of S. Athanasius is alleged, *οὐδαμοῦ αἷμα Θεοῦ δίχα σαρκὸς παραδεδοκάσιν αἱ γραφαί*.

This is just one of the cases to which the remark of Dean Alford, quoted at p. 5, applies with its full force. Whichever of the two readings we suppose to have been the original, some reason may be supposed for the substitution of the other. *Ἡ ἐκκλησία (αἱ ἐκκ.) τοῦ Θεοῦ* is a common expression of S. Paul ; *Ἡ ἐκκ. τοῦ Κυρίου* occurs nowhere else in the New Testament. Again, it is a small argument perhaps, but not to be wholly passed over, that while *ὁ Κύριος* occurs three times in this speech of S. Paul to the Ephesian Elders, it is always with some addition : in two places (verses 24, 35) it is *ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς* ; in the third (verse 21) there is some little doubt, but the reading is perhaps *τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν* (*Χριστόν*). Now when a person is speaking under the influence of strong emotion, he commonly uses his own natural, that is, his characteristic style : and moreover, he is very apt to repeat without variation the expressions in which

the idea which he desires to impress upon his audience first suggested itself. There seems a peculiar tenderness in S. Paul's dwelling thus upon the name of his Lord. These considerations would rather lead us to look for the familiar τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, and to expect that if Κυρίου were S. Paul's word he would have added Ἰησοῦ or Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

It may be said on the other side, with some force, that it is more likely that the unusual Κυρίου should be altered into the familiar Θεοῦ, than the reverse, which could only be done for theological reasons; a charge we are always unwilling to bring.

There is weight too in what Tischendorf says; that, if we assume Κυρίου to be the original reading, it is much easier to understand the addition of Θεοῦ, and thus get at the origin of those mixed readings, than to understand the addition of Κυρίου, if Θεοῦ had stood originally in the text.

Tregelles and Tischendorf both place Κυρίου in the text; Tregelles places Θεοῦ in the margin, as an alternative reading strongly supported. The N. T. Revisers place Θεοῦ in their text, with Κυρίου in the margin. Westcott and Hort adopt Θεοῦ.

(9) Acts xi. 20. We will next discuss a passage, which records an interesting fact in the history of the infant Church. The question here is between Ἑλληνιστάς, which is the reading of the Textus Receptus, and Ἑλληνας.

I. For Ἑλληνιστάς:—

1. B, Db, E₂, H₂, L₂, P₂, 13, 61, and almost all cursives.

N*, which has the strange reading Εὐαγγελιστάς, seems from the termination of that word to favour this reading.

2. No version can be quoted in its support; but no great stress can be laid on this fact, since the

versions in general appear not to recognise the distinction.

3. S. Chrysostom, with Œcumenius and Theophylact, in *quoting the passage* favour this reading ; but as their commentaries clearly imply the other reading, it may be that the text has here been altered by the transcribers.

II. For Ἕλληνας :—

1. N^o, A, D*, 184.
2. Syr. P ; Armenian ; and apparently the Æthiopic (Tregelles).
3. Eusebius and Chrysostom, followed by Œcumenius and Theophylact as indicated above, in his commentary, e. g. ὅρα, Ἕλλησι εὐαγγελίζονται.

Taken simply by itself the evidence might seem to be in favour of Ἕλλημιστάς : but we cannot help taking into consideration that this reading, if the words are used in their usual acceptation, seems to make nonsense of the passage. There is evidently a contrast intended by the writer between the Ἰουδαῖοι, to whom the other preachers of the Gospel spoke, and the persons addressed by these men of Cyprus and Cyrene at Antioch. This contrast is heightened by the καί, which is undoubtedly to be inserted after ἐλάουν. But the Ἕλλημισται were Jews ; and the proper antithesis to Ἕλλημιστής is not Ἰουδαῖος but Ἑβραῖος. We are inclined therefore with the N. T. Revisers to adopt Ἕλληνας as the true reading. Westcott and Hort retain the reading of the T. R. But this seems just one of those rare cases where subjective considerations may turn the scale against documentary evidence.

(10) We have reserved for the last place the disputed verses at the end of S. Mark's Gospel (c. xvi. 9-20). The *minute analysis and discussion of the evidence in Westcott and*

Hort's G. T. (Notes, pp. 28-51) appear to demand a slight modification of the opinion we before expressed as to the authenticity, not as to the genuineness, of this passage.

That it proceeded from S. Mark's own pen we are now inclined to doubt; yet, like S. John vii. 53—viii. 11, it seems to have an equal claim with the rest of the Gospel upon our acceptance as a genuine canonical portion of the sacred record.

It is impossible in a short space to do justice to the many considerations which arise at every turn in this case. Dean Burgon has written a volume on these 'Last Twelve Verses,' wherein he proves that much of the evidence commonly arrayed against the verses is simply non-existent; statements having been incautiously copied by one great critic after another, which, incredible as it may seem, when examined carefully turn out to have no foundation at all, or even in some cases to have an exactly opposite bearing to that alleged. He will find that much of the adverse Patristic evidence consists not, as is represented, of the independent opinions of certain Fathers, but of so many almost verbal transcriptions of a passage in Eusebius, in which moreover Eusebius is not giving his own judgment: while several of the Fathers cited as hostile, give in other parts of their works clear evidence in favour of the verses. And he will find it shown that the so-called proofs from style and phraseology (proofs which for the most part proceed upon the extraordinary assumption, that if a writer does not use a word or phrase at least twice in the course of his writings—however short the writings may be, and however inappropriate the word or phrase might be in other parts of the writings—it is abhorrent to his style, and a sign that the passage in which it occurs is not authentic!), are either false, or that they prove a great deal too much.

For clearness' sake we will first give the evidence *commonly alleged against the passage*.

1. *N* omits the passage. The Gospel ends with ἐφοβούτο τὰς.

and S. Luke's Gospel begins at the top of the next column as usual, without any mark or note.

B omits the passage; but a whole column is left blank, as if the scribe were aware that something was wanting.

L breaks off at *ἐφοβούντο γάρ*, and in the next column gives two alternative endings to the Gospel, as being both traditional: the first a short (and certainly apocryphal) form, the second being vv. 9-20, as commonly read.

It is alleged that about thirty cursive MSS. mark the verses in question as doubtful, by placing an asterisk against them, or a marginal note, or by having a break between vv. 8 and 9, with a note interposed.

It is said that the passage has no place assigned to it by Eusebius among his 'Ammonian' Sections.

2. *k* of the Vetus Latina gives the same ending as the first of L (above). Syr. H. (mg.) does the same. Æth. (two old MSS.) gives nearly the same. Arm. (some old MSS. omit the passage altogether; others give the verses with a new heading, after a break). An Arabic Lectionary (ninth century) in the Vatican Library omits it.
3. It is said that Eusebius, Jerome, Gregory of Nyssa, Victor of Antioch, Hesychius of Jerusalem, Severus of Antioch, and Euthymius, all testify to a doubt thrown upon the verses, or to their absence from many codices.
4. (a) There are, it is said, in this short passage as many as twenty-one words and phrases which do not occur elsewhere in the Gospel; e. g. *πορεύομαι, θεόδομαι, ἀπιστέω, μετὰ ταῦτα, ὁ Κύριος* (absolutely of Jesus Christ), *πρώτη σαββάτου*, &c. &c.
- (β) The identification of S. Mary Magdalene, *ἀφ' ἧς ἐκβεβλήκει ἐπὶ δαιμόνια*, notwithstanding she has been mentioned already in this chapter and the last, seems to favour the hypothesis of an independent narrative, rather than of a continuation by the same writer.
- (γ) The introduction of the note of time, *πρὶς πρώτη σαββάτου*, is so unnecessary, if the narrative were continuous, that it looks like the commencement of a fresh narrative.

It is so difficult to divest oneself of the impression produced by this array of arguments, as represented in the works of such critics as Tischendorf, Tregelles, and Dr. Davidson, that it seems best, before giving the summary of the real evidence on both sides, to give here the disproofs of some of the chief points.

And first as to the 'about 30 cursives.' When these MSS. are referred to, it turns out that their evidence is really in favour of and not adverse to the genuineness of the verses. It is true they all have a scholion recognising the absence of them from some codices : at the same time they all in various words in the same scholion testify to their being 'undoubtedly genuine,' 'part of the text,' found 'in other,' 'in many,' 'in the ancient copies,' 'in the true Palestinian copy,' or 'in the approved copies preserved at Jerusalem.'

Further, Dean Burgon brings forward arguments which show that almost certainly the word *τέλος*, which occurs in the text of some of these and other MSS. after v. 8, and has been taken by many critics to mark the end of the Gospel, is merely a trace of the Lectionary system of which we have spoken elsewhere, and marks here the end of an important ecclesiastical Lection. There is however one MS. (22) in which the word *τέλος* occurs twice, viz. after v. 8, and again after v. 20 ; and here it seems really to indicate that in some authorities the Gospel ended with one verse, and in some with the other.

As to the Fathers above enumerated ; Dean Burgon shows that the passage which has caused Gregory of Nyssa, Severus of Antioch, and Hesychius of Jerusalem to be quoted as adverse, comes from a homily or dissertation which has been attributed at different times to each of these three Fathers. At all events then two of them cannot be quoted. But whichever be really the author, the passage is a mere reproduction of a certain comment of Eusebius, and therefore not entitled to claim independent weight ; while, on the other hand, in the same homily, the 19th verse is quoted as being genuine, showing what was the real opinion of the writer. So too S. Jerome and Victor of Antioch are shown, the one to be *merely translating*, the other reproducing, Eusebius' comment : and S. Jerome not only left the twelve verses in his revised

Vulgate, but quotes the 9th and 14th verses as genuine. The testimony of Euthymius, a twelfth-century commentator, is obviously of no account on such a point as this. There remains then Eusebius; and his supposed testimony is of two distinct kinds. First, there is the long passage from his *Quæstiones ad Marinum*, of which *the first half only* is given in the critical Annotations of Tischendorf (8th ed.); but the contents of which, if *the whole* be carefully weighed, will be seen to leave the matter at least open, not committing Eusebius to any opinion at all about the genuineness of the passage. Elsewhere he quotes v. 9, more than once. Secondly, there is the scholion at v. 8 in codd. 1, 206, 209, in which occur the words *ὥς οὐ καὶ Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου ἐκανόνισεν*. It is not quite clear what this means, but, so far as its authority goes, it seems adverse to the verses. For if it means that he *placed in his tables* (Canons) no section of S. Mark's Gospel after § 233 (the number which is commonly set against v. 8), then, inasmuch as § 233 belongs to Canon II, (the table of passages common to the first three Gospels), § 233 must have consisted of v. 8 alone, for the remaining verses are not common to the three, and in that case it would have been strange if the remaining verses, had they existed in his copies, had not been sectionized and referred to some of the Tables. Or, if it means that Eusebius *numbered no sections* after § 233, that would be curiously contrary to the analogy of his work; that is, if the verses were there. In either case then a presumption is raised against his acknowledgment of these verses. It is a fact that there are many more codices extant in which the sectionizing is carried beyond v. 8, than those in which it stops at that point, but it does not follow that this was done by Eusebius. When the passage had become established in the text, it would be a natural thing to extend the system to it.

It is impossible in a short compass to do justice to the investigation by which Dean Burgon disposes of the argu-

ments against this passage, from the supposed discrepancies of its 'style' and 'phraseology' from that of S. Mark. Of all the 'peculiar' words, or usages of words, discovered in the passage there is scarcely one of any importance, unless we are to expect a dull uniformity of vocabulary and idiom that shall allow of absolutely no variety in a Gospel consisting of just 678 verses. Some few are suggestive. And there are points in the style which, so far from being contrary to S. Mark's style, are in harmony with, if not characteristic of, it.

We now give a summary of the real evidence against and for the passage.

I. Evidence against the verses :—

1. (N), (B), (L). The leaf of N on which the Gospel ends is one of the conjugate leaves, probably a 'cancel,' written by the scribe of B (see p. 39), and the writing of the last column is said to be more spread out than commonly in the codex, as if to fill up space purposely, otherwise a whole column, as in B, would have been blank. Thus we arrive at two probabilities, which both tend to weaken the at first sight concurrent adverse testimony of N and B. (1) The two witnesses seem really to resolve themselves into only one; (2) the unusual space after *ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ* in both suggests that, whatever may have been the reason for the non-insertion of the verses, the scribes knew that some additional matter was commonly found at the end of the Gospel. L is a witness to a doubt upon the connexion of the passage with the rest of the Gospel; at the same time it is a witness to the existence of the verses as a sometimes acknowledged conclusion to the Gospel.

MSS. antecedent to 22 (see Westcott and Hort, Notes, p. 30).

Many MSS. known to Eusebius, which he considered the most accurate, many more probably known to Jerome, and others mentioned by the Scholia ; but no *existing* MSS., other than $\aleph$ and B, without the verses.

There is the Scholion, whatever weight may be given to it—*ὥς οὖν Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου ἐκάνομισεν.*

2. *k* of the Vetus Latina gives the apocryphal conclusion found in L, omitting vv. 9–20 altogether. This perhaps implies the voice of the African Old Latin. Syr. H. (*marg.*) does the same. Æth. (several old MSS.) gives nearly the same, followed however continuously by vv. 9–20. Arm. (some of the best omit the passage ; others give it with a new heading after a break). An Arabic Lectionary (ninth century) in the Vatican Library omits it.
3. The Patristic evidence against the verses after all amounts to no more than this, that Eusebius' opinion, rather more probably than not, was unfavourable. Victor of Antioch does not continue his commentary beyond the eighth verse. And a good many writers, who might have been expected to quote from the verses, do not, as (? Cyril Jer.), Tertullian, Cyprian, and others. The argument *e silentio* is of very partial force.
4. (a) It is difficult to account for so widespread omission of them, if they were original.
 (β) The want of literary continuity between vv. 8 and 9, indicated by the fresh identification of Mary Magdalene (ἀφ' ἧς ἐκβεβλήκει ἐπὶ τὰ θαυμάσια)

when she has been already mentioned in v. 1 ; and by the doubled note of time (*πρὸς πρώτη σαββάτου*) after v. 2 (see above).

- (γ) The 'moral discontinuity,' whereby the account of the women's visit to the sepulchre leaves them before us at v. 8 in a state of unassuaged terror. No subsequent incident is mentioned, as in the accounts of S. Matthew and S. Luke, to indicate their relief or change of feeling; yet something, scarcely consistent, is told of Mary Magdalene, who was one of the party.

II. Evidence for the verses :—

1. (L), (22), with many MSS. antecedent to 22.

All extant MSS. but those mentioned above.

MSS. known to Eusebius, and probably to Jerome, and to the author of a Scholion that is found repeated in many cursives.

The verses are found in all the Lectionaries, appointed to be read at Eastertide and on Ascension Day.

2. Vet. Lat. ; Vulg. ; Syrr. C, P, H (*text*), J (vv. 17-20) ; Memph. ; Æth. (some) ; Goth. (to v. 12).
3. Justin M. (?) ; Irenæus ; Gesta Pilati ; Apostolic Constitutions ; Did us ; Epiphanius ; Aphraates ; Marinus ap. Euseb. ; Anon. ap. Macarius ; Nestorius ap. Cyril ; Chrysostom (prob.) ; Ambrose ; Augustine ; Jerome ; Hesychius of Jerusalem, or whoever is the author of 'the Homily on the Resurrection' (see above, p. 122) ; Eusebius and Victor of Antioch at all events knew of the passage.
4. (a) It is incredible that the Gospel should have ended so abruptly as with the words *ἐφοβούντο γάρ*.

- (β) Answer to (I. 4, α). It is difficult to account for so early and widespread acceptance and transmission of the account if it were not genuine. This also meets a difficulty felt by some in harmonising this account with the other Gospels.
- (γ) The small amount of various readings in the text is also in favour of its genuineness.
- (δ) The passage forms a complete and consistent whole in itself, with an irresistible ring of truth about it.
- (ε) It is wholly unlike the attempt of a scribe to supplement by his own ingenuity a record that he found defective.

To sum up then, we find a passage for the conclusion of the Gospel, the attestation to the early existence and very wide acceptance of which is overwhelming; the only rival to which moreover is a passage undoubtedly spurious. We may accept it then as a part of the sacred text. But the peculiar circumstances of its transmission force upon us the further questions—Is it the original conclusion? or is the original conclusion lost? or did the Gospel end originally at *ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ*? The third alternative is incredible. The first, looking to (I. 4, α, β, γ) and (II. 4, δ), is difficult to accept. We finally therefore, though with some hesitation on account of the somewhat startling assumption that is involved, are inclined to accept the second, and conclude that these verses are an independent record of our Lord's post-Resurrection appearances, of primitive if not Apostolic authority, which was added at some very early period to the Gospel to supplement the original loss.



Testament entire. The Cod. Friderico-Augustanus at Leipsic is really a part of this MS. (See further, p. 36, &c.) It is convenient to bear in mind that besides the reading of the original scribe ($\aleph^a$), those of four out of the numerous correctors are commonly quoted, under the following denominations: $\aleph^a$ is thought to be almost of the same age as the original scribe, at any rate of the fourth century; $\aleph^b$, whose corrections are very important, is placed in the sixth century: then follow two correctors of the seventh century, called $\aleph^{ca}$, $\aleph^{cb}$.

ALEXANDRINUS [V]. Library of the British Museum in London. The whole of the Old and New Testaments, except a few leaves which have been lost. It contains also a copy, long the only one known to exist, of the first Epistle of Clement of Rome, and a fragment of the second, placed as if they belonged to the Canonical books. The writing is continuous, in uncial characters of very elegant and clear form, with capital letters larger than the rest, and projecting beyond the line, at the beginning of books and sections. A very simple punctuation is introduced, consisting of a single point at the end of a sentence, followed by a break in the writing. There are no accents or breathings, except at the beginning of the book of Genesis, where the first four lines of each column are written in vermillion. Each page has two columns. The τίτλοι, the 'Ammonian Sections,' and the Eusebian Canons, are found complete in the Gospels; but there are no marginal marks of division throughout the rest of the New Testament, though the text is divided as the sense requires by

APPENDIX C.

LIST OF THE CHIEF UNCIAL MSS.

IN the following list are given, the letter by which each MS. is usually cited, the common name of the MS., the century when it was transcribed, and its present locality ; and in some instances its contents and condition are indicated.

The designation-letters are of course those now commonly assigned. But if the student should compare it with any old list, as that prefixed to Bruder's Concordance, or that of any old critical edition of the New Testament, he will find discrepancies. For some of the older known MSS. have been dropped out for critical reasons, as O (Montefalconii) and R (Tubingensis) of Bruder's list ; and others, once quoted separately, have been found to be parts of the same MS. and are denominated by one common letter, as J (Cottonianus) and I (Vaticanus), have been proved to be parts of N (Codex Purpureus), and are now quoted under that same letter N : and the letters thus set free have been assigned to other MSS. more recently discovered. The names of primary uncials are in capitals, the names of secondary uncials in black type.

α. *Cod. SINAITICUS* [IV]. Imperial Library at St. Petersburg. A great part of Old Testament, and the New

Testament entire. The Cod. Friderico-Augustanus at Leipsic is really a part of this MS. (See further, p. 36, &c.) It is convenient to bear in mind that besides the reading of the original scribe ($\aleph^*$), those of four out of the numerous correctors are commonly quoted, under the following denominations: $\aleph^a$ is thought to be almost of the same age as the original scribe, at any rate of the fourth century; $\aleph^b$, whose corrections are very important, is placed in the sixth century: then follow two correctors of the seventh century, called $\aleph^{ca}$, $\aleph^{cb}$.

- A. Cod. ALEXANDRINUS [V]. Library of the British Museum in London. The whole of the Old and New Testaments, except a few leaves which have been lost. It contains also a copy, long the only one known to exist, of the first Epistle of Clement of Rome, and a fragment of the second, placed as if they belonged to the Canonical books. The writing is continuous, in uncial characters of very elegant and clear form, with capital letters larger than the rest, and projecting beyond the line, at the beginning of books and sections. A very simple punctuation is introduced, consisting of a single point at the end of a sentence, followed by a break in the writing. There are no accents or breathings, except at the beginning of the book of Genesis, where the first four lines of each column are written in vermillion. Each page has two columns. The *τίτλοι*, the 'Ammonian Sections,' and the Eusebian Canons, are found complete in the Gospels; but there are no marginal marks of division throughout the rest of the New Testament, though the text is divided as the sense requires by

paragraphs and capitals. The titles and subscriptions of the books are still very short and simple, though a little longer than those found in $\aleph$ and B : e. g. for *κατα Ματθαιον* we here find *εὐαγγελιον κατα Ματθαιον*, &c.

To determine the date of the Codex we have such arguments as these :—The presence of the Epistles of Clement, the shortness of the subscriptions, and the absence of the Euthalian divisions of the Acts and Epistles, would all point to a date not later than the middle of the fifth century ; while the insertion of the Eusebian Canons, and of the Epistle of Athanasius to Marcellinus, would prevent our assigning a date earlier than the latter half of the fourth. But the style of the writing is somewhat later than that of $\aleph$ and B, and would point to the early part of the fifth century.

- B. 1. Cod. VATICANUS [IV]. Vatican Library in Rome. The Old and New Testaments, except the Epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, and a part of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The Apocalypse and the missing part of the Epistle to the Hebrews have been added by a more recent hand. (See further, p. 40, &c.)
2. Cod. BASILIANUS [VIII]. Vatican Library in Rome. The Apocalypse.
- C. Cod. EPHRAEMI [V]. National Library in Paris. Fragments of the LXX, and of all the books of the New Testament but 2 Thessalonians and 2 S. John. It is a palimpsest MS. (*Codex rescriptus*). In many palæographical details there is great similarity between this MS. and Cod. A. The writing

is somewhat smaller and a little more elaborate than that of A, and there is but one column of long lines on a page; but there is the same absence of accents and breathings, the same simple punctuation, the same sort of initial capital letters, and the same simple subscriptions to the books. Moreover the Ammonian Sections are marked, and the lists of *τίτλοι* are given at the beginning of each Gospel; while there are no marks of the division into chapters in the other books. These characteristics point to the fifth century as the date of its transcription. Three correctors have left their traces on the MS., which is one of first-rate importance.

D. 1. Cod. BEZÆ [VI]. Cambridge University Library.

This MS. contains portions of the Gospels in the *Western* order (viz. SS. Matthew, John, Luke, Mark), and the Acts; between which stood formerly the Catholic Epistles, now represented by only a few verses of 3 S. John. Out of 534 leaves, which it must once have possessed, 128 are gone. It is a Græco-Latin MS., written stichometrically, the earliest known MS. that is so, the Greek being placed on the left-hand page of the opening, the Latin on the right, and on the whole corresponding line for line. The Latin is thought (see W. and H. Introd. p. 82) to be an adaptation of an Old Latin Text, which has been more or less assimilated to the Greek Text of the codex itself.

The initial letters are not larger than the rest, but stand out a little from the line, as in cod. B; and there are no marks of divisions inserted by the original scribe. The Ammonian sections have

been inserted by a later hand, but the *κεφάλαια* are not given.

A great deal of the interest of this MS. depends upon the interpolations with which it abounds, especially in the Acts; some of which are unsupported by any other authority, some are countenanced by the *Vetus Latina* and Curetonian Syriac versions. These are so characteristic that, as stated above (p. 75), some critics have formed a separate group of the authorities in which they occur. They are probably due to the influence of tradition still lingering on, and are at all events a proof of the extreme antiquity of any such text.

Apart from these interpolations D presents a very valuable text, akin in its readings to that of the Alexandrine type.

D. 2. Cod. CLAROMONTANUS [VI]. National Library at Paris. The Epistles of S. Paul, with a very few verses wanting. A very important Græco-Latin MS., stichometrically written. The Latin version is ante-Hieronymian; but so altered into verbal conformity with the corresponding Greek text as to have little independent value.

E. 1. Cod. **Basileensis** [VIII]. Public Library at Basel. The Gospels entire, except a few verses of S. Luke. A secondary uncial of considerable value; collated both by Tischendorf and Tregelles.

2. Cod. LAUDIANUS [VI]. Bodleian Library at Oxford. The Acts, with one hiatus (xxvi. 29-xxviii. 26). A Græco-Latin MS., written in very short *στίχοι*. The Latin, like that of D.2, is ante-Hieronymian in character, but it follows the Greek closely and is therefore not an independent authority.

3. Cod. **Sangermanensis** [X]. Imperial Library at St. Petersburg. The Epistles of S. Paul, but mutilated in two or three places. A Græco-Latin MS. The Greek is a mere transcript of D₂, and worthless as an independent witness. The Latin presents some differences.
- F. 1. Cod. **Boreeli** [IX]. Public Library at Utrecht. The four Gospels, but mutilated. The MS. appears to have suffered further injury since its first collation by Wetstein (Tischendorf).
2. Cod. **AUGIENSIS** [IX]. Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. The Epistles of S. Paul. A Græco-Latin MS.; the Latin being an example of the best Vulgate, 'somewhat tampered with in parts to make it suit the Greek text.' Rom. i. 1-iii. 19 is wanting: and *the Greek* of 1 Cor. iii. 8-16, vi. 7-14, Col. ii. 1-8, and Philem. 21-25, with the entire Epistle to the Hebrews, is wanting; the Latin however remains.
- F₂. Cod. **Coislianus 1** (*marg.*) [VII]. Paris. By this letter are designated some fragments of the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles of S. Paul, found in marginal notes to the great Septuagint Octateuch known as Codex Coislianus 1.
- G. 1. Cod. **Harleianus** (formerly known as Seidelii I, or Wolfii A) [X]. Library of British Museum in London. The Gospels, much mutilated.
2. A fragment at St. Petersburg [VII] containing Acts ii. 45-iii. 8.
- [Before Tischendorf's eighth edition (and therefore in Alford's Greek Testament) the portion of Cod. Angelicus (see below, L₂) containing the Acts used to be cited under this letter.]

3. Cod. BOERNERIANUS [IX]. Royal Library at Dresden. The Epistles of S. Paul, but mutilated in places. A Græco-Latin MS. The Latin is interlinear, and in a cursive character; another specimen of an ante-Hieronymian text altered to suit the Greek. As to the Greek text, this MS. is a sister MS. to F₂; the two MSS. having been clearly copied from the same archetype: not so the Latin. Moreover it once formed part of the same volume as Δ (see below).

H. 1. Cod. Seidelii (formerly Seidelii II, or Wolfii B) [IX]. Public Library at Hamburg. The Gospels, a good deal mutilated.

2. Cod. Mutinensis [IX]. Grand Ducal Library at Modena. The Acts, mutilated.
3. Cod. COISLIANUS 202 [VI]. Fragments of the Epistles of S. Paul, stichometrically written, of which twelve leaves are at Paris, and two at St. Petersburg.

I. FRAGMENTA PALIMPSESTA TISCHENDORFIANA (or Cod. Tischendorfianus II). Under this designation are cited (severally as I_a, I_b, &c.) seven fragments of the Gospels, Acts, and Pauline Epistles, now at St. Petersburg, ranging from the fifth to the seventh century.

I^b [IV or V]. Some palimpsest fragments of S. John in the British Museum, brought from a Nitrian monastery. [These fragments were cited as N^b in Tischendorf's seventh edition.]

[J. This letter is not now used. In older critical editions three different MSS. might be found cited under it, viz. :—

1. For the Gospels, the MS. here described under N.
2. For the Acts, the MS. described under L₂.
3. For the Catholic Epistles, the MS. described under K₂.]

K. 1. Cod. **Cyprius** [IX]. National Library in Paris. The four Gospels complete.

2. Cod. **Mosquensis** [IX]. Library of the Holy Synod at Moscow. The Catholic Epistles entire; and S. Paul's Epistles, with two hiatus, one of which extends to five verses only.

L. 1. Cod. **REGIUS** [VIII or IX]. National Library in Paris. The four Gospels, with four small hiatus. Said to bear a strong resemblance to Cod. B. in its readings.

2. Cod. **Angelicus** (or **Passionei**) [IX]. Library of the Augustinian monks at Rome. The Acts from viii. 10 (*μὴς τοῦ Θεοῦ*), Catholic Epistles entire, and Pauline Epistles to Heb. xiii. 10. [Formerly cited for the Acts under the letters G or J.]

M. 1. Cod. **Campianus** [IX or X]. National Library in Paris. The four Gospels complete.

2. Cod. **RUBER** [X]. So named from the colour of the ink. Fragments of the two Epistles to the Corinthians and of the Epistle to the Hebrews, amounting to 196 verses in all. Two folio leaves are at Hamburg, in the Johanneum; and parts of two more in London, at the Library of the British Museum.

N. Cod. **PURPUREUS** [VI, end]. Fragments of all the Gospels. Four leaves are in the British Museum, six at the Vatican, two at Vienna, and 33 in Pat-

mos. The first three of these fragments used to be cited separately as J, N, and R respectively. The letters are silver upon purple vellum. The whole are published by Tischendorf in his *Monumenta sacra inedita*.

Nb. See Ib.

O, O_a...O_n Fragments, chiefly copies of the Evangelic Hymns (Magnificat, &c.) found in Psalters at different places. There are *seven* such, varying between the sixth and ninth centuries.

P. 1. Cod. GUELPHERBYTANUS I [VI]. The Ducal Library at Wolfenbüttel. A palimpsest containing fragments of the Gospels.

2. Cod. PORPHYRIANUS [IX]. A palimpsest containing the Acts, Catholic and Pauline Epistles, and the Apocalypse, with a few small hiatus. [This is the MS. from which our facsimile No. 3 is taken.]

Q. Cod. GUELPHERBYTANUS II [V]. A MS. of the same place and character as P₁, but containing fragments only of S. Luke and S. John.

R. Cod. NITRIENSIS [VI]. British Museum in London. Large fragments of S. Luke. A palimpsest.

S. Cod. **Vaticanus** 354 [X]. Vatican Library in Rome. The four Gospels entire. The earliest *dated* MS. of the Greek Testament.

T. Cod. BORGIANUS I [V]. Library of the Propaganda in Rome. Fragments of S. Luke and S. John. A Græco-Thebaic MS.

Tb...Te. [VI to VIII]. Various small fragments.

U. Cod. **Nanianus** [X]. Library of S. Mark's Venice. The four Gospels entire.

- V. Cod. **Mosquensis** [VIII or IX]. Library of the Holy Synod, Moscow. The four Gospels, but mutilated. It is written stichometrically.
- Wa.. Wf. [VIII and IX]. Various small fragments.
- X. Cod. **MONACENSIS** [IX or X]. University Library in Munich. The four Gospels, but much mutilated.
- Y. Cod. **BARBERINI** 225 [VIII]. Barberini Library in Rome. A fragment containing 137 verses of S. John.
- Z. Cod. **DUBLINENSIS RESCRIPTUS** [VI]. Library of Trinity College, Dublin. A palimpsest fragment, with 290 Verses of S. Matthew's Gospel.
- r. Cod. **Tischendorffianus** IV [IX]. A codex of the four Gospels, complete except two passages of S. Matthew and S. Mark; but part of it is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, part at St. Petersburg.
- Δ. Cod. **SANGALLENSIS** [IX]. Library of the monastery at S. Gall in Switzerland. A Græco-Latin MS., containing the four Gospels entire, except S. John xix. 17-35, with an interlinear Latin translation. (See above under G₃.)
- œa. Cod. **TISCHENDORFIANUS** I [VII]. University Library at Leipsic. A few fragments of S. Matthew.
- œb.. œb. [VI to IX]. Various small fragments.
- Λ. Cod. **Tischendorffianus** III [VIII or IX]. Bodleian Library at Oxford. The Gospels of S. Luke and S. John entire.
- Ξ. Cod. **ZACYNTHIUS** [VIII]. Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society in London. A palimpsest.

sest, containing considerable portions of S. Luke's Gospel, with a catena.

- II. Cod. **Petropolitanus** [IX]. St. Petersburg. Contains the Gospels nearly entire.
- Σ. Cod. **ROSSANENSIS** [VI]. The Archbishop's Library at Rossano in Calabria. S. Matthew and S. Mark almost complete; written, like Cod. N., in silver letters on purple vellum. It is the earliest known copy of Scripture which is adorned with miniatures in water-colour.
- γ. [VIII]. British Museum. A palimpsest, containing fragments of all four Gospels.

APPENDIX D.

A LIST OF THE LATIN CODICES MOST COMMONLY CITED IN CRITICAL EDITIONS.

1. *Of the Text before S. Jerome's Revision.*

- a.* Cod. *Vercellensis* [IV]. At Vercelli. The four Gospels, but much mutilated. Probably the best example of an ante-Hieronymian text. In *a*, *d*, *e*, and *f* the Gospels stand in the *Western* order, viz. SS. Matthew, John, Luke, Mark.
- a*₂. *Fragmenta Curiensia* [V]. At Coire. Two fragments of S. Luke.
- b.* Cod. *Veronensis* [IV or V]. At Verona. The four Gospels with several hiatus. A good example of an ante-Hieronymian text.
- c.* Cod. *Colbertinus* [XI]. At Paris. In the four Gospels it gives a very pure ante-Hieronymian text: the rest of it is by a different hand, and gives S. Jerome's text.
- d.* 1. Is the Latin version of *D*₁ (see p. 131). Of little critical importance, except where the Greek is wanting.
2. Is the Latin version of *D*₂ (see p. 132.)
- e.* 1. Cod. *Palatinus* [IV or V]. At Vienna. A MS. much mutilated, containing fragments only of SS. Matthew and Mark, and very nearly the whole of

SS. Luke and John. An ante-Hieronymian text, of the *African* type, slightly altered.

2. The Latin version of E₂ (see p. 132).

3. The Latin version of E₃ (see p. 133).

f. Cod. *Brixianus* [VI]. At Brescia. The four Gospels, with only two hiatus in S. Mark. Considered by Westcott and Hort (Introd. p. 81) to be an example of the Italian text of the Old Latin.

*ff*¹, *ff*². Codd. *Corbeienses* [probably VI]. They take their name from the Abbey of Corbey in Picardy, to which they once belonged. *ff*¹ is now at S. Petersburg, and contains S. Matthew's Gospel and the Epistle of S. James, together with the first five chapters of S. Mark. *ff*² is at Paris, and contains the four Gospels almost entire. The text is mixed; i.e. ante-Hieronymian altered by some independent corrector.

*g*¹, *g*². Codd. *Sangermanenses* [probably VI]. They contain the four Gospels (perhaps a little mutilated). A mixed text.

g. The Latin version of G₃. (See p. 134.) The Epistles of S. Paul.

N.B. This letter is also used to designate Cod. Gigas. (See below *γ*.)

h. 1. Cod. *Claramontanus* [IV or V]. Vatican Library at Rome. The Gospel of S. Matthew is ante-Hieronymian; the other three are in S. Jerome's Revision.

2. Two palimpsest Fragments, one of the Acts, the other of the Apocalypse, of the African type, at Paris.

i. Cod. *Vindobonensis* [V or VI]. Vienna. Portions of

- S. Mark and S. Luke. A very valuable ante-Hieronymian example.
- j.* Cod. *Sarzannensis* [V]. Sarezzano, near Tortona. Fragments of S. John. Text peculiar and valuable.
- k.* Cod. *Bobbiensis* [IV or V]. Turin. Fragments of S. Matthew, and one of S. Mark. An ante-Hieronymian revised, of the African type.
- l.* Cod. *Rhedigerianus* [VII]. Breslau. The four Gospels, mutilated. A mixed text.
- m.* Cardinal Mai's *Speculum* [VI]. Monastery of S. Croce at Rome. Contains extracts from almost all the books of the New Testament. Ante-Hieronymian.
- n.* Cod. *Sangallensis* [IV or V]. St. Gall. Fragments of SS. Matthew and Mark. Ante-Hieronymian.
- o.* [VII]. A fragment of S. Mark, and
- p.* [VIII]. A fragment of S. John. Both at St. Gall.
- q.* Cod. *Monacensis* [VI]. Munich. Fragments of each of the Gospels. Ante-Hieronymian, of the Italian type.
- N.B. This letter (*q*) is also used by Dr. Hort to designate the two leaves of Cod. *Frisingensis* which contain the Catholic Epistles.
- r.* Cod. *Frisingensis* [partly V or VI, partly VII]. Munich. Very interesting examples of three ante-Hieronymian texts, in twenty-four leaves, edited by Ziegler with elaborate prolegomena. There are fragments of Rom., 1 and 2 Cor., Gal., Eph., Phil., 1 Thess., 1 Tim., Heb., 1 S. John. One leaf, containing the end of Phil. and first ten verses of 1 Thess., stands alone. The two leaves containing 1 S. John iii. 8 to the end of the Epistle.

belong to another text : the interest of this portion being that it is the earliest known witness to the verses of the Heavenly Witnesses. The remaining twenty-one leaves present more remarkable agreements with the readings of S. Augustine and Capreolus than any text hitherto known, and are therefore thought to be an example of the *Italian* type of text.

s. 1. Cod. *Mediolanus* [VI or V]. Milan. Four palimpsest leaves containing fragments of S. Luke.

2. Another Cod. *Bobbiensis* [V]. Vienna. Palimpsest fragments of the Acts, S. James, and 1 S. Peter.

gue. Cod. *Guelpherbytanus* [VI]. Wolfenbüttel. A fragment, in the same great palimpsest as P, and Q, containing about thirty-three verses of the Epistle to the Romans.

γ. Cod. *Gigas* [XIII]. Stockholm. Contains the Old and New Testaments, with other matter. The chief part of the New Testament seems to give S. Jerome's revision; but the Acts and Apocalypse appear to be Old Latin; the text of the Acts being of the African type, that of the Apocalypse 'late European.'

δ. The interlinear version of Δ. (See above, pp. 134 and 137.)

harl. 1772. [VIII]. A MS. in the Harleian collection of the British Museum, containing all the Epistles and much of the Apocalypse. It is said to exhibit a mixed text of old with revised readings.

2. *Of S. Jerome's Revision.*

Only a few of the best known are here mentioned.

- am.* Cod. *Amiatinus* [VI]. Laurentian Library at Florence, Old and New Testaments nearly perfect. A first-rate text.
- aur.* or *holm.* Cod. *Aureus Holmiensis* [VI or VII]. Stockholm. The four Gospels. The text is said to be based on the Vulgate, but with a large number of ante-Hieronymian readings interpolated.
- bodl.* Cod. *Bodleianus* [VII]. The Bodleian Library. The four Gospels with three small hiatus. Said to have been given by Pope Gregory the Great to our S. Augustine.
- demid.* Cod. *Demidovianus* [XII]. The whole Bible. Only partially collated.
- for.* Cod. *Forojuliensis* [VI]. At Cividale near Udine. Gospels of SS. Matthew and Luke, and nearly the whole of S. John. Part of S. Mark's Gospel is at Venice, and part at Prague. (See below *prag.*).
- ful.* Cod. *Fuldensis* [VI]. Abbey of Fulda in Hesse Cassel. The whole of the New Testament.
- harl.* Cod. *Harleianus* 1775 [VI or VII]. British Museum.
- ing.* Cod. *Ingoldstadiensis* [VII]. Munich. The Gospels, much mutilated.
- pe.* or *per.* *Fragmenta Perusina*. Very ancient. At Perugia. Fragments of S. Luke.
- prag.* Under this designation Tischendorf cites the portion of Cod. *Forojuliensis* said above to be at Prague.
- san.* Cod. *Sangallensis* [VI]. Part at St. Gall, part at Zurich. Fragments of the Gospels and Pauline Epistles, the latter being palimpsest.

The following are examples of a British group of MSS., in which many valuable Old Latin readings are found.

arm. *The Book of Armagh* [VIII or IX]. Trinity College, Dublin. Contains the whole New Testament.

chad. *S. Chad's Gospels* [VIII]. The Chapter Library at Lichfield. Was once at Llandaff.

kells. *The Book of Kells* [VII or VIII]. Trinity College, Dublin.

lind. *The Book of Lindisfarne* [VII or VIII]. Sometimes called 'The Book of Durham.' British Museum Library.

mac-regol. [Early IX]. Bodleian Library.

Others are thought to belong to a Spanish group, as—

cav. Cod. *Cavensis* [VIII or IX]. The Monastery of the Holy Trinity at Corpo di Cava, near Salerno. The whole Bible.

emil. Cod. *S. Emiliani* [IX]. At the Royal Academy of History at Madrid. The second volume of a complete Bible.

*leon*¹. [X]. The Chapter Library at Leon. Like *emil.*, the second volume of a complete Bible.

*leon*². [X]. At the church of S. Isidore in Leon. The whole New Testament.

tol. Cod. *Toletanus* [X]. Once at Toledo, now in the National Library at Madrid. The whole Bible written in Gothic characters.

APPENDIX E.

A LIST OF FATHERS WHOSE WRITINGS ARE OF IMPORTANCE IN THE CRITICISM OF THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THOSE whose works are in Latin are printed in italics : those which are of primary importance are in capitals. With the exception of a very few writers, who are frequently cited in critical editions, none are inserted of later date than the fourth century. In each case the century is given to which the working-life of the writer belonged. This must be remembered in comparing these notices with some lists in which the year of the birth or death only is given. A general description of the works of each is added.

Ambrose, Bishop of Milan [IV]. Commentaries, Sermons, Epistles and Treatises on various ecclesiastical subjects.

AMBROSIASTER : perhaps Hilary the Deacon [IV]. So called because his Commentaries on S. Paul's Epistles were frequently published among the works of S. Ambrose.

ANDREAS OF CAPPADOCIA, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia [VI]. A Commentary on the Apocalypse. (Not to be confounded with Andreas of Crete, a writer of the next century.)

Aphraates [IV]. A Syrian Bishop, the author of twenty-two *Homilies*, commonly but erroneously attributed to Jacobus Nisibenus.

Arnobius [III and IV]. A native of Africa. His only known work is an apologetic treatise, *Libri vii adversus gentes*.

ATHANASIUS, Archbishop of Alexandria [IV]. Orations, Epistles, and Treatises, chiefly on subjects connected with the Arian controversy.

AUGUSTINE, Bishop of Hippo [IV]. His works are very numerous. The most important are, his great work *de Civitate Dei*, his *Confessions* and *Retractions*, and his *Commentary on the Psalms*. There are besides many Letters and Sermons, as well as Controversial and Philosophical Treatises. He is supposed to use the so-called *Versio Italica* in his quotations.

Barnabas [II early]. An Apostolic writer, but not the Barnabas of the Acts of the Apostles: the author of the Epistle which goes by that name.

BASIL (THE GREAT), Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia [IV]. Homilies, Ascetic writings, Letters, and some Treatises on special subjects.

Capreolus [V], Bishop of Carthage. The author of at least two extant *Epistles*, which are of some value in connection with the discussion of the early forms of the Latin version.

Cassiodorus [VI]. At first a statesman, then a monk, of Italy. His works are various; *Historical*, *Literary*, and *Scientific* Treatises, as well as others expository, or illustrative of the Scriptures.

CHRYSTOSTOM of Antioch, Archbishop of Constanti-

nople [IV]. Homilies, Commentaries, Letters, and Treatises on special subjects.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA [III]. His three principal works are the *Λόγος προτρεπτικός πρὸς Ἕλληνας* (a Hortatory Address to the Gentiles), *Παιδαγωγός*, and *Στρωματεῖς* (Miscellanies). There is also a short practical treatise, *τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος* ;

Clement of Rome [I], Bishop of Rome. Two *Epistles to the Corinthians*. The (*Clementine*) *Homilies* and *Recognitions* are falsely attributed to him: but they are of the second century, and therefore give valuable evidence.

Constitutiones Apostolicæ. A treatise on the various duties of Christians, religious and social, public and private. A work of uncertain authorship, compiled probably in the fifth century out of several treatises already existing. Some of the materials may be as early as the second century.

CYPRIAN, Bishop of Carthage [III]. A number of short treatises on various subjects, apologetic, expository, and controversial; and a valuable collection of Letters.

CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, Bishop [V]. Commentaries, Homilies, Letters, and Dialogues on some of the chief Mysteries of the Faith.

Cyril of Jerusalem, Bishop [IV]. *Κατηχήσεις*, or Lectures on the Faith and Doctrines of the Church to Catechumens and Newly-baptized Persons.

Damascenus (Joannes) [VIII]. Numerous short treatises on controversial, theological, and ecclesiastical subjects.

DIDYMUS, of Alexandria [IV]. *Liber de Spiritu Sancto, de Trinitate, and Adversus Manichæos.*

Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria [III].- Treatises, chiefly controversial ; and Epistles. Only extracts and fragments remain.

Ephraem Syrus [IV]. Treatises, theological and moral, Homilies and Commentaries ; they are in Syriac, and of use in connection with the Syriac versions.

EPIPHANIUS, Bishop of Constantia in Cyprus [IV]. *Ancoratus*, on the doctrine of the Trinity ; *Panarium*, a treatise against Heresies ; *De Ponderibus et Mensuris Liber*.

EUSEBIUS OF CÆSAREA, Bishop [IV]. His chief works are the *Chronicon, Præparatio Evangelica, Demonstratio Evangelica, Historia Ecclesiastica, De Martyribus Palæstinæ, De Vita Constantini, Onomasticon*, and several controversial treatises.

Euthymius Zigabenus [XII]. A Greek monk of Constantinople. His chief work for our purpose is a Commentary on the Four Gospels, compiled from the writings of S. Chrysostom and other early Fathers.

Fulgentius [V], Bishop of Ruspe. Several controversial treatises against semi-Pelagianism.

Gregory of Nazianzus, in Cappadocia, Bishop [IV]. Sermons, Letters, and Poems.

Gregory of Nyssa, in Cappadocia, Bishop [IV]. Treatises, doctrinal and practical ; Discourses, Letters, Biographies.

Gregory Thaumaturgus, Bishop of Neocæsarea [III]. A *Paraphrase of Ecclesiastes*, an *Explanation of the*

Creed, an *Epistola Canonica*, and a *Panegyric Address to Origen*, are his extant works.

Gregory (the Great) [VII]. Bishop of Rome. His chief works are Commentaries, Homilies, a book on the Pastoral Office, and Letters.

Hilary of Poitiers (*Pictavensis*), Bishop [IV]. His chief work is *De Trinitate Libri XII*. He wrote Commentaries on the Psalms and on S. Matthew's Gospel. Several smaller treatises are extant.

Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus [III]. Fragments only of his works remain, which are partly controversial, partly expository.

Ignatius [I and II early]. Bishop of Antioch. Epistles.

IRENÆUS, Bishop of Lyons [II]. Only one work of his remains, *Adversus Hæreses*; and of this only fragments of the original Greek are extant. But there is an old Latin translation, apparently contemporaneous with the original. The translator gives the quotations from Scripture in an ante-Hieronymian version: hence the authority of S. Irenæus is of service in the criticism both of the Greek and Latin texts. The original and the translation are always cited separately, thus: Iren(*text*), and Iren(*int.*).

JEROME [IV]. *Epistles*, which are chiefly disquisitions on various Theological or Moral questions: *Tracts*, biographical or polemical; *Commentaries*; the *Chronica Eusebii*, translated and extended; the *Bibliotheca Divina*, which is the result of his critical labours on the Text of the Old and New Testaments.

Justin Martyr [II]. Two *Apologies* for the Christians, addressed to Antoninus Pius and Aurelius respectively; and a *Dialogue with Trypho*, a Jew.

Lactantius [IV]. *Divine Institutiones*, a philosophical introduction to Christianity, against the pagan system. An *Epilome* of the same, and two or three other smaller pieces.

LUCIFER OF CAGLIARI (Calaritanus), Bishop [IV]. Several treatises on questions of dogma and discipline arising out of the Arian controversy. Useful in consequence of the numerous quotations from an ante-Hieronymian version of the Scriptures.

[Marcion of Pontus, the Heretic [II]. None of his works survive independently, but there are many quotations in the writings of Tertullian and Epiphanius which are cited as Marcion-*tert.*, Marcion-*epiph.* respectively.]

Methodius Patarensis, Bishop [III]. Treatises on Free-will, the Resurrection, and Virginity.

Œcumenius, Bishop of Tricca in Thrace [X]. Commentaries on all the books of the New Testament but the Gospels.

ORIGEN [III]. The Tetrapla and Hexapla editions of the Old Testament; exegetical works, in the forms of *Commentaries*, *Scholia*, and *Homilies*. Of the rest of his voluminous writings only a few letters and extracts remain.

Papias [II early]. Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia. *Λογίων Κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις*, in five books. Only fragments remain, embedded in the works of Eusebius and other writers.

Polycarp [II], Bishop of Smyrna. An Epistle to the Philippian Church.

Primasius [VI]. A commentator from whom an almost

continuous text of the Apocalypse in an old Latin (African) text can be recovered.

Prudentius [V]. Hymns and religious poems.

Rufinus of Aquileia [IV]. An Exposition of the Apostles' Creed. An Ecclesiastical History. A collection of Biographies; and several other original works, as well as numerous translations of Greek works, among which are the Homilies of Origen, the works of Gregory of Nazianzus, and the Recognitions of Clement of Rome. He was a contemporary of S. Jerome.

TERTULLIAN, of Carthage [II and III]. Numerous treatises on various points of order and discipline: some also controversial. His quotations of Scripture are from the Old Latin.

Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus or Cyrrhus in Syria [V]. His works were partly exegetical, including a Commentary on S. Paul's Epistles, partly historical, and partly controversial.

Theodore of Mopsuestia (in Cilicia), Bishop [V]. His chief works were exegetical. His Commentaries on the Twelve Minor Prophets are extant entire. Fragments only of his Commentaries on the Books of the New Testament remain, in catenæ.

Theophylact, Archbishop of Bulgaria [XI]. Commentaries founded on those of S. Chrysostom.

Victor Antiochenus [V]. Commentaries, of which fragments remain extant in catenæ.

Victorinus [IV]. Commentaries on the Epistles to the Galatians, Philippians, and Ephesians. His quotations are from the Latin before S. Jerome's revision.

- Vigilius* [V]. Bishop of Thapsus in Byzacium (Africa), author of several controversial works, including apparently some which have claimed other names, e. g. Athanasius, Idacius Clarus or Augustine, as their authors.

APPENDIX F.

TABLE I.

Giving a conspectus of the authority of the chief Uncial Manuscripts
for the different parts of the New Testament in successive
centuries.

<i>Century.</i>	<i>Gospels.</i>	<i>Acts and Cath. Epp.</i>	<i>Pauline Epp.</i>	<i>Apocalypse.</i>
IV.	ⲛ B ₁	ⲛ B ₁	ⲛ B ₁	ⲛ
V.	A C Q T	A C	A C	A C
VI.	D ₁ N P ₁ R Z Ⲥ	D ₁ E ₁	D ₂ H ₁	
VII.	F _a	F _a G ₁	F _a	
VIII.	E ₁ L ₁ V Y Δ Ⲭ T			B ₁
IX.	F ₁ H ₁ K ₁ M ₁ X Γ Δ Π	H ₁ K ₁ L ₂ P ₁	F ₂ G ₁ K ₁ L ₂ P ₁	P ₁
X.	G ₁ S U		E ₁ M ₁	

TABLE II.¹

Showing the contents of those MSS. which are designated by the same letters in different parts of the New Testament.

	<i>Gospels.</i>	<i>Acts and Cath. Epp.</i>	<i>Pauline Epp.</i>	<i>Apocalypse.</i>
N	SINAITICUS			
A	ALEXANDRINUS			
B	VATICANUS			Basilianus
C	EPHRAEMI			
D	BEZÆ		CLAROM.	<i>(deest)</i>
E	Basiliensis	LAUD.	Sangerman.	<i>(deest)</i>
F	Boreeli	<i>(deest)</i>	AUGIEN.	<i>(deest)</i>
G	Harleianus	(Frag. Tisch.)	BOERN.	<i>(deest)</i>
H	Seidelii	Mutinensis	COISL.	<i>(deest)</i>
K	Cyprius	Mosquensis		<i>(deest)</i>
L	REGIUS	Angelicus		<i>(deest)</i>
M	Campianus	<i>(deest)</i>	RUBER	<i>(deest)</i>
P	GUELPH.	PORPHYRIANUS		

¹ This table is due to the Rev. A. J. Miller, M.A., of Exeter College.

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